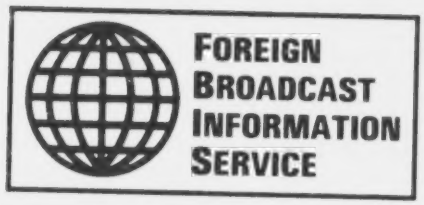

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U.S. Seen Undermining Arms Talks Progress

PM1007175189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint" article: "Forward or Backward?"]

[Text] The world is continuing the active quest for ways designed to lead to a solution of questions perturbing mankind. Ending the arms race, primarily the nuclear missile arms race, is one of the top priority questions.

Considerable experience in solving similar questions has already been accumulated. A year has passed since the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which is correctly described as an agreement of historic importance. In conformity with this treaty, the Soviet Union had eliminated 51.1 percent of its total quantity of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and 44.6 percent of its launchers for such missiles by 1 July. The U.S. side is honoring its pledges: It has eliminated 36.7 percent of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and 18.6 percent of launchers respectively. This is tangible proof that the task of freeing mankind from the nuclear missile chains lends itself to practical solution.

But this situation is not to everyone's liking. The treaty on intermediate-and shorter-range missiles is like a thorn in the flesh of some people to be found on Capitol Hill. Specifically, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the treaty's ratification, Senator S. Simms published a report which claims that the Soviet Union is violating the treaty's provisions and "deceiving the United States." The senator has no proof to support these fabrications. There are, on the other hand, convincing statements by Washington administration spokesmen confirming that the USSR honorably and consistently honors its pledges. For example, Brigadier General R. Lajoie, director of the U.S. Department of Defense On-Site Inspection Agency, declared at a recent press conference in the U.S. capital: "The practice of inspections by U.S. inspectors as to how the USSR observes the treaty's provisions has shown that Soviet officials demonstrate a responsible and professional approach toward this question." For their part, a whole series of the previous administration's staffers have confirmed that the United States can confidently utilize the experience gained during observations of adherence to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles when solving the question of methods to monitor the agreement on strategic offensive arms which is under preparation.

Right at this time some U.S. press organs have started giving space to news reports which cannot fail to attract attention. There have been claims that the present administration seems to be "losing interest" in talks on strategic offensive arms, that it is suddenly worried about the effectiveness of verification measures in the context of the implementation of agreements on the reduction and elimination of nuclear arms. For example, THE WASHINGTON POST, quoting "high-ranking officials," announced: The administration is steering a course toward ensuring that "an agreement with the Soviet Union on reductions of strategic nuclear arms is postponed until such time as the United States will be able to carry out surprise verifications of Soviet arsenal so as to convince itself that such an agreement lends itself to verification." It was seconded by THE NEW YORK TIMES in an article by M. Gordon, also quoting statements by "high-ranking administration staffers."

The question is: Are these and other such news reports accidental? Can we not observe behind them some sort of line pursuing the goal of raising artificial barriers across the path to agreements at the onset of a phase which is generating great hopes among the peoples?

The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is successfully operating. The bulk of work was done at the preceding stages of talks on both strategic offensive arms and nuclear and space arms. Both the Soviet and the U.S. side declared that a sound foundation has been laid for bringing their positions closer. In some cases the matter at hand could in practice already be moved into the home straight. Political goodwill by both sides—this is what is necessary for success now.

The USSR is scrupulously adhering to the letter and spirit of the treaty. It did not and does not intend to deceive either the United States or any other partners in talks. And if some people in Washington are trying to slander the Soviet Union, the true goal is obvious. The point is to diminish the importance of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and simultaneously to retard progress at the talks on strategic offensive arms and on nuclear and space arms. It is equally obvious that this practice is not in line with the interests of the United States, the USSR, or other countries and peoples. Therefore, the most reasonable action would be to abandon such attempts.

NATO's Nuclear Strategy 'Dangerous Anachronism'

LD1007195289 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, in a statement adopted at the Bucharest meeting, expressed hope that the discussion of the military doctrines of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, Their nature, political and military-technical aspects, and their further evolution would promote a transition to military concepts and doctrines based on strictly defensive principles.

It is first of all the difficulties with which the countervailing strategy and the reliance-on-strength concept, which formed in cold-war years, are being overcome are precisely what worries socialist countries in NATO'S military policy.

The strategy of nuclear deterrence, which was reaffirmed at the recent session of the NATO Council, remains a dangerous anachronism which runs counter to the interests of universal security.

It seems that NATO's concept of forward defense, which envisions a huge concentration of troops and arms of the North Atlantic Alliance directly along the line of contact between the two blocs, can hardly be viewed as corresponding to a defensive military doctrine.

Undoubtedly, the fact of presence of a large number of troops and weapons in those areas, including the most dangerous and destablising weapons, cannot but give rise to concern, since the threat of a surprise attack with such deployment of armed forces is great enough.

The Warsaw Treaty countries' proposals to set up, on a reciprocal basis, a zone of scaled down levels of armaments along the line of contact between the two blocs and to maintain such levels of military potentials there which would ensure the possibility of only defensive operations do not so far find a response among the leading circles of NATO.

Moreover, NATO's official spokesmen continue to declare the need to continue to stick to the concept of 'forward defence' and consequently the respective deployment of the armed forces.

The Warsaw Treaty countries have every ground to have a negative attitude to such U.S. and NATO concepts as 'air-land battle' and 'deep strike'.

These concepts presuppose the delivery of strikes throughout the depth of Warsaw Treaty forces' dispositions. An American version envisions the use of both precision-guided conventional weapons and chemical and tactical nuclear weapons simultaneously with vigorous offensive operations of armoured and mechanised units of land forces.

The 'deep strike' concept directly envisages the conduct of combat operations outside NATO countries, which obviously runs counter to the declared 'defensive' character of NATO's military doctrine.

The ensurance of genuine stability [rest of item indistinct]

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1140 GMT on 10 July transmits a similar report containing an additional paragraph which states: "The ensurance of genuine stability in Europe, the restructuring of international relations on new beginnings, urgently require the rejection of confrontational doctrines like this and wagering on force, as well as the application of mutual efforts to strengthen political and not military security factors in every possible way."]

General Ilyenko on Move To Cease Nuclear Testing
18300723 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Jul 89 p 4

[Report from Pavlodar-Karaganda by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA special correspondent G. Belotserkovskiy: "What Response Will the Explosion Bring?"]

[Text] "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" is a so-called new public movement. Its aim—to arouse public opinion and to convince Americans to join our initiative and cease nuclear testing.

From time to time the glass in our houses suddenly shakes and something softly pushes the floor under our feet. But no one makes a sudden dash from their apartments. They are used to it. Everyone knows: It is not an earthquake, it is a seismic wave, an echo of a far-away nuclear explosion which was thundering on the test site. In the evening, the program "Vremya" reassures us with its standard statement: "The radioactive situation in the testing area is normal."

It would be nice to believe this. And since February the testing site has been silent: Dangerous gases had escaped into the atmosphere and had reached the living areas. So then mass meetings began in Kazakhstan and the public movement was formed.

At an all-union "roundtable" dedicated to the complex ecological situation in the Pavlodar Priirtish area, the chief of the nuclear test site, Lt Gen A. Ilyenko tried to convince everyone that a reliable system of nuclear security had been established here. It is true that sometimes radioactive gases do escape from the earth's crust, but these gases are inactive, inert. In a word, we understood, the workers at the test site and their families live under marvelous conditions.

At the meetings one had occasion also to hear another opinion. People said that the testing site, which had been built forty years ago near a large city, had made us into test rabbits. Until 1963 the explosions had been above ground. And if everything here was so satisfactory, then why, seven years after the testing had begun, was a highly classified USSR Ministry of Health dispensary organized in Semipalatinsk?

During the seventies this dispensary was managed by B. Gusev. He recently informed the local press of facts that are, after all, directly symbolic for those years. In 1965 they decided to create a reservoir using a controlled nuclear explosion and to cultivate fish. And they did this. But who here does not remember the crude anecdote? One is asked: Can one eat apples from Chernobyl? One can, the answer goes, if the cores are buried a little deeper. The situation is similar—recently the doctors

have permitted the fish from this reservoir to be used as food only with the stipulation: beware of the bones.... Do not the inhabitants of the settlement swim in this reservoir to get healthy?

But Ilyenko is more concerned about another matter—the speech of the poet and USSR Peoples' deputy Olzhas Suleymenov—one of the leaders of the movement.

The general angrily asked—Why did they speak out exactly at the time of the preelection campaign? Not one of these loudmouths gave us a single fact. And here the general remembered the "additional security measures" which are needed in order to prevent a repeat of the events of 12 February.

It's easy to charge a peoples' candidate with political intrigue. It's much more difficult to justify the facts. O. Suleymenov produced them at the congress. They decorated the speeches at the meetings.... The death rate from cancer and leukemia is increasing in the regions adjacent to the test site. Cancer attacks and there is nothing with which to fight it. A town is not able to scrape together several million [rubles] in order to build a modern cancer dispensary. There is a need in Central Kazakhstan for an institute of radiation medicine and to examine everyone who was born after 1949. It is time to publish a map of the radiation situation and to establish the means for monitoring the purity of food.

It is difficult to say right now whether we will cease testing or not—after all, the Americans continue to test. But while the test site continues to function, Kazakhs have the full right to receive compensation in the form of modern medical service and improvements in food and living conditions and to go to resorts more often. Why are they worse off than the inhabitants of Hiroshima, where, as is known, the life span expectancy that of the average in Japan? And all of this is due to improving public health and the social sphere.

All the same, let us note: The "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" movement has already yielded good fruit. The possibility of restricting the number and yield of tests at the test site are being seriously examined. It has been decided to conduct the tests at a deeper level and to give warning of the test dates ahead of time.

Romanian Scientist Praises Gorbachev Proposals
LD0807105189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 08 Jul 89

[Report from Bucharest by correspondent Igor Charikov]

[Text] The meeting of the highest leaders of the Warsaw Pact is arousing special interest here. It is taking place literally after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to France, which is being assessed everywhere not only as an important step in the development of bilateral relations, but also as a continuation of the political dialogue between East and West. In this context the conference of the Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest serves as a graphic example of socialist countries' realistic efforts toward achieving real disarmament and ensuring peace and stability.

Vasile Pilat, doctor of economic sciences and a prominent Romanian scientist, is at our microphone.

[Begin Pilat recording in Romanian fading into Russian translation] Now, as never before, the leaders of our countries bear a special responsibility. The Warsaw Pact has always been the initiator of specific steps to reduce tension and ensure security. Suffice it to recall the documents of the Berlin and Warsaw conferences of the Political Consultative Committee which set out their principled attitude on the questions of war and peace. The situation in the world is changing, the new political thinking is winning a firm position in international relations. The question of conversion of military production is on the agenda together with the question of disarmament. This question is undoubtedly not only an important, but also a complex problem.

This solution to numerous questions connected with channelling the existing potential of the military industry also presupposes the solution of important questions with regard to the ability of this industry to adapt itself quickly to the needs of a peaceful economy. The conversion envisages broad international cooperation, cooperation between both the socialist countries and all countries of the European continent. In this sense, the proposal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, voiced in his speech in Strasbourg, is without doubt of great importance. I think that the initial reduction, say by 50 percent of military expenditure, as is proposed in a number of Warsaw Pact documents, should be the first stage on the path toward all-European conversion. [end recording]

Gorbachev Concludes Pact Visit to Bucharest

Officials Welcoming Gorbachev Listed

PM1007131389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Soviet Leader Arrives in Bucharest"]

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Jul—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived here today to take part in a routine meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. He was accompanied by the members of the Soviet delegation: E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

M.S. Gorbachev and his wife and the members of the Soviet delegation were met at the capital's Otopeni Airport by: N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and Romanian president; RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee Members C. Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, and C. Olteanu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee; RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee Candidate Members I. Totu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, and V. Milea, Romanian minister of national defense; and other Romanian officials.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who arrived here earlier, also attended the meeting.

The welcoming party also included Army General P.G. Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania.

Ceausescu Hosts Dinner for Gorbachevs

LD0807170889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Bucharest, 8 Jul (TASS)—Acquainting herself with the architectural and historical sights of the Romanian capital and numerous meetings with the inhabitants of the city—such was the program for Raisa Gorbacheva's stay in Bucharest. [passage omitted]

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Elena Ceausescu gave a dinner in honor of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Raisa Gorbacheva, who were here. The dinner passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, respect, and mutual understanding.

Ceausescu, Gorbachev Reception Speeches

PM0907160589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Friendship and Cordiality"]

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Jul—N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and Romanian president, has held a reception in honor of the participants in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee [PCC] Conference.

It was attended by the delegations from: Bulgaria headed by T. Zhivkov, Hungary headed by R. Nyers, the GDR headed by E. Honecker, Poland headed by W. Jaruzelski, the USSR headed by M.S. Gorbachev, and the CSSR headed by M. Jakes.

Members of the Romanian delegation and Romanian party and state figures also attended.

N. Ceausescu addressed those present.

The Romanian leader warmly welcomed all the conference participants in his speech and stressed that the conference had discussed important questions concerning both the international situation and all-around cooperation among the socialist countries.

It can be said, N. Ceausescu noted, that the conference documents expressed the Warsaw Pact states' resolve to act with full responsibility in the cause of disarmament—above all, nuclear disarmament—and to rapidly and successfully complete the Vienna talks on conventional arms reduction. Our countries unanimously stressed the major threat posed to peace and the lives of all the peoples by the existence of nuclear weapons, and advocated resolute measures to eliminate them, proposing that NATO abandon their modernization and the nuclear deterrence policy, which runs completely counter to the peoples' desire for peace and cooperation.

The Warsaw Pact socialist states actively advocate the implementation of effective new measures to wholly eliminate nuclear arms by the year 2000, and the successful completion of talks between the USSR and the United States on 50-percent cuts in strategic nuclear arms. They advocate a ban on nuclear tests and the abandonment of any programs to militarize space. We express the hope that the NATO countries will realize that the Warsaw Pact states' position accords with the supreme interests of peace and cooperation among the peoples.

The conference participants stressed the need to implement new measures in ensuring disarmament and security in Europe, and new relations based on complete equality of rights, which will promote each people's socioeconomic progress, the strengthening of cooperation and unity among European states irrespective of their social systems, and the creation of a united Europe of free and independent countries.

During the conference, the Romanian leader continued, it was noted that the lessons of history should not be forgotten. This applies to the activities of various right-wing, neofascist organizations, which are striving to return to prewar times. It is necessary to resolutely rebuff the activities of revanchist organizations and to place obstacles in the way of new adventures.

On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II mankind should not forget the innumerable casualties in the struggle to rout fascism and ensure the independence of all states—including that of all our countries—during World War II.

Within the framework of the talks a great role was played by questions of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation among our countries and the improvement of cooperation with a view to overcoming any difficulties that may arise and for the sake of each people's socioeconomic progress and development along the socialist road, the improvement of their prosperity, and the safeguarding of their independence.

In conclusion, N. Ceausescu noted that the conference is an event of enormous importance both for future cooperation on an international level and for socialist building in the Warsaw Pact countries, and he expressed the conviction that the results of the conference will promote the strengthening of cooperation and solidarity between our parties and countries.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke on behalf of the fraternal countries' delegations.

I think, he said to those present, that we are entitled to express satisfaction with the results of our joint work today.

Collective meetings between the leaders of the allied socialist countries provide an invaluable opportunity to exchange opinions on the key problems of European and world politics and to jointly map out a line of action taking account of the changes under way in the international arena.

The main conditions for the effectiveness of foreign policy are its scale and ability to keep pace with the march of time. Political time in these years at the end of the 20th century is increasingly accelerating. It is bringing to life previously unknown processes, giving rise to many complex problems, and demanding the adoption of bold and original decisions.

We are pleased to state that under these conditions the Warsaw Pact countries have managed to find approaches equal to the demands of the time, and that our policy—this is now widely recognized—is playing an important constructive role in the development of the international situation.

Affairs in Europe have already taken a turn for the better—that is a fact. It has proved possible to implement many important Warsaw Pact initiatives in the atmosphere prevailing under the influence of new political thinking.

I think it can be said that as a result of today's comradely discussion yet another major step has been taken to create the prerequisites for further progress by the all-European process.

We are making important decisions that pave the way to a further rapprochement of positions between the countries of East and West Europe, and are capable of moving forward the dialogue begun recently in Vienna.

This applies to virtually all aspects of it—the problems of arms reduction, the development of cooperation, and humanitarian issues. Everywhere our countries are demonstrating their readiness to go further, and are advancing a constructive program for improving the atmosphere on the continent.

We hope that this major and businesslike response to the NATO countries' proposals will permit both sides' delegations at the talks to move more rapidly from words to action.

There have recently been positive changes in mutual relations between the two military-political blocs. It seems that we are starting to listen to each other—and, consequently, understand each other—better. We are starting to exchange constructive proposals rather than salvoes of propaganda. And, as a result, we are starting to trust each other more.

At the same time, assessing the situation realistically, we cannot fail to see that the movement toward peace has still not become irreversible or reached the point where the force of momentum comes into play. Threats—and considerable threats at that—persist. Psychological confrontation has by no means been overcome either, nor has its material base been dismantled.

Under these conditions our organization continues to act as guarantor of the socialist states' security and all-European stability.

We our convinced that there is an urgent need to consistently switch the emphasis in safeguarding states' security from military means to political means. This is the only sensible and responsible course at a time when mankind is facing acute global problems that threaten its very existence. It is a course that makes it possible to overcome confrontation, reduce the danger of nuclear war, develop cooperation, and work toward the building of a new world order that accords with the interests of all the peoples.

I cannot fail to note a feature of our meeting—the growing contribution of each allied country to the elaboration of a coordinated foreign policy line.

This reflects the new relations which are now being established in our community: complete equality of rights, respect for each fraternal party's independence in resolving national problems, and, at the same time, multifaceted cooperation and solidarity.

One other thing I would like to say is that our meeting, in accordance with the nature and purpose of the Warsaw Pact, was devoted to international problems. But it could not fail to reflect the processes currently under way in the USSR and the allied countries.

For all the specifics of national conditions and the unique nature of the transformations and reforms being implemented in different countries, their importance lies in the desire to more fully reveal the potential of our social system and socialist democracy, and to reach new heights of progress—both material and spiritual.

We know that the allied countries are greatly interested in Soviet restructuring. People in our country have an equally profound interest in our friends' work and concerns.

On behalf of our party and Soviet people I want to wish the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist states success in solving the problems facing them, and in fully implementing their plans and realizing their hopes.

On behalf of all the guests here I express our sincere gratitude to Comrade N. Ceausescu and all the Romanian comrades for their cordiality and the fine conditions for our conference's work.

The next PCC conference will be held in Moscow.

Fulfilling by rotation the responsible functions of coordinators of our joint activities, we will make every effort to promote together with you, dear friends, the enhancement of our alliance's contribution to the strengthening of European and universal peace.

The reception was held in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality.

Gorbachev TV Interview Published

PM1007124389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report on interview with M.S. Gorbachev by unidentified Soviet television correspondent in Bucharest: "M.S. Gorbachev Interview With Soviet Television"—date unspecified]

[Text] Before leaving Bucharest M.S. Gorbachev gave an interview to Soviet TV in an auditorium at the Romanian State Council on the results of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee [PCC] Conference held in the Romanian capital.

Question: Mikhail Sergeyevich, the session is over; such meetings are to a certain extent said to mark stages in mutual relations between the socialist countries, and, if one recalls the major peace initiatives made by the Warsaw Pact states, they also influence world processes. How do you assess this meeting?

M.S. Gorbachev: I agree, both the PCC conference and this brief meeting of the general and first secretaries of the fraternal parties' Central Committees can probably be said to mark a stage. Above all, this is determined by the context of the time in which these important events were held. Major changes for the better—toward an improvement of international relations—are under way both in Europe and worldwide. This is happening—we must say this without any false modesty—under the strong influence of the enterprising policy pursued by the allied states united in the Warsaw Pact.

The atmosphere now prevailing determined the course of the discussion and the content of the final document signed by us this morning. The document is constructive and realistic, it takes account of the interests of all Europeans, and also takes account of the interests of military-political organizations such as NATO. On the basis of realistic approaches it sets out a whole program of further action. It is essentially thanks to this that a good basis is being created for ensuring that good impetus is given to the process of negotiations—above all in Vienna.

Question: It can probably be said that in Bucharest yet another brick was laid in the edifice of the European home.

M.S. Gorbachev: Perhaps more than a brick. I was very pleased about the businesslike nature of the discussion at the conference and the lack of formality. There were very open arguments, comparisons of views, and assessments. And the results of the analysis of the situation and the changes taking place came together in a good document.

It is now a question of ensuring that everything that has been enshrined here is implemented in actual accords with our partners in the talks. And not just in Vienna, but in other areas too. What has been said here covers on the whole the approaches to the building of a new

international order. It was recalled that global problems and the threat they pose demand a pooling of international efforts and the enhancement of the role of the United Nations.

Nor did we forget the problems of the Third World—problems which are very serious and also require joint efforts from the peoples. In general, a broad range of problems was discussed.

That is why I make a high assessment of the results of the PCC conference, and in this connection thought was given once again to the fate of our military-political organization. It has given good service to the cause of improving the international situation. Life changes, and this organization will change too. But it is still playing its role.

Probably the process of disarmament and the strengthening of security will develop, confrontation in Europe will diminish, and a different atmosphere will be created. And, clearly, the alliance will initially be transformed from a military and political alliance into a political and military alliance. And then we will probably approach the resolution of the ultimate task—the dissolution of military blocs. After all, they are not eternal, the time will come when they will no longer be necessary. But I think that this is a job for the future. Currently this organization is working well.

Here, at this round table, there was a brief meeting of party leaders. It demonstrated great mutual understanding and a desire to give our cooperation greater dynamism, depth, and scale, bearing in mind the situation that actually prevails. Both the position in the Soviet Union and the development of our CEMA friends' economies require a deepening of cooperation. And it should be said that, although this is proving difficult for the time being, we are on the threshold of achieving new forms of cooperation which would correspond to the tasks of integration based on the division of labor. This should completely change the nature of our cooperation and bring other results. Here too we should not delay, we must act—because our lag in a number of important avenues is affecting overall development rates, the results of economic development, and, naturally, our peoples' living conditions. That is why we have agreed to continue on a broader footing the discussion we began today and to discuss all issues over several days. On the eve of the new 5-year period, we must think everything over and make the necessary forecasts and calculations. And this agreement too, I would say, is an important result of the Bucharest meeting.

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Pact Summit

PM0907201789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondents V. Vedrashko and V. Sharov dispatch: "High Responsibility"]

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Jul—A routine conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee [PCC] ended in Bucharest today. Now that its results have been made public, we can conclude with complete confidence that the top leaders of the fraternal parties and countries have written yet another portentous page in the annals of the socialist community and made a major new contribution to the progressive forces' struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace and disarmament. The peoples have again seen for themselves that peace and socialism are indivisible.

Here is a brief chronicle of what happened this morning. The numerous correspondents accredited to the conference press center were allowed to attend the closing minutes of the meeting.

0900 hours...The heads of the delegations signed the statement "For a Stable and Secure Europe Free of Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, and for a Substantial Reduction in Armed Forces, Armaments, and Military Spending." A communique was also adopted. The content of the conference documents was not known beforehand. Now, having obtained them, the journalists rushed to their teletype machines and telephones. There is no need to regurgitate the statement and communique in detail. We would go along with the immediate commentaries that our colleagues passed on to their editorial offices: The participants in the Bucharest meeting demonstrated their high sense of responsibility for the lives of present and future generations. The fraternal states are following the tried-and-tested course of peace.

We asked N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to sum up the results of the conference.

PCC conferences, which are attended by the top leaders of parties and states, heads of government, Central Committee secretaries, foreign ministers, and defense ministers, always discuss very major issues, N.I. Ryzhkov said. I would divide these into two parts. First, there are global questions of international policy. The aim of PCC conferences is to profoundly analyze the international situation and the processes taking place in the world, to determine the stage which development has reached, and, above all, to look ahead and develop a joint program of action. The second group of issues concerns our community. We cannot discuss international affairs without touching upon the community's life. Of course, this is a discussion of the big picture, the specific situation in each country is not discussed. That is not part of PCC practice. Now to the Bucharest meeting that has just ended. There was an interesting discussion on international problems and assessments were made of trends and processes. Both the documents signed today and the speeches concluded that positive changes are occurring in international relations, political dialogue is coming increasingly to the fore, confrontation is diminishing, and tension is falling. We believe that this assessment is correct.

It was noted at the conference that a great deal is currently being done in this respect by the Soviet Union, which has made major initiatives, and by the other socialist countries—each of which participates in the process in their own way, putting forward certain proposals. This is an objective assessment; it allows us to conclude that we are on the right path.

And yet the PCC focused on questions of security in Europe. This is natural. We live in Europe, and we must primarily be concerned about what happens here. The participants noted the importance of M.S. Gorbachev's recent Strasbourg speech, which presented in concentrated form our understanding of the common European home. A positive assessment was made of the Vienna talks which are currently under way. Everyone expects that they will ultimately ensure positive changes which will make it possible to resolve many questions of the life of the European Continent.

At the same time, it was noted that there are still many problems which prevent us from improving the situation in Europe. Everyone is aware of the nuclear deterrence policy by which certain NATO countries are guided. Such approaches do not make it possible to move forward in international relations. This is a fundamental question. The political dialogue is impeded, as is—and this is the most important point—the adoption of certain political decisions. We cannot fail to be concerned about the desire of certain circles to modernize NATO's tactical nuclear arms. NATO has its own position on these issues. Despite everything we must seek ways of solving problems, we must continue our work.

A great deal was said about the fact that great changes are taking place in various regions afflicted by conflicts and in the world's "hot spots." The resolution of the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was greeted with great satisfaction by everyone. It was assessed as a great political event.

Naturally, matters dealing with the development of our commonwealth, our economic cooperation, and the nature of our relations were examined. The principles that were enshrined in our economic relations did their job at the previous stage in the development of the commonwealth. They conformed to the times. Today, though, when reforms are going on in the socialist countries, our economic relations evidently need to be restructured. I spoke of this in my speech at the sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and I now hold the same opinion that profound economic reforms cannot be carried out in the countries unless the practice of economic relations within the CEMA framework is restructured. We have now embarked on the complicated and far frrom easy road of transforming the national economy. That is clear from the sittings of the Supreme Soviet, as was it clear from the work of the Congress. From both these platforms, very much criticism was and is being heard. I think it would be worse if there were no criticism, because then it would indeed be difficult to implement radical and revolutionary changes. Purely cosmetic changes are not what is required. Other socialist states are also embarking on the path of sweeping reforms. As we take this road, we must make decisive changes to relationships within the context of CEMA. The working practice and methods of CEMA must be overhauled. We need to find new methods and new and more flexible approaches that will correspond to the domestic changes in the fraternal states. If we do not make serious changes in CEMA, then it will be difficult to improve the situation with regard to our bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Of course, no specific recipes were prescribed for this at this conference. But then again, that sort of thing is not done at such conferences. The details have to be worked out and determined in the course of other meetings. The issue at stake here is one of principles. There was preliminary agreement that the next CEMA session, which will apparently be held in Sofia in November, should be the crucial one. We have to find answers to the fundamental question of how we should make a change for the better in our economic relations. Particularly because we are now entering the next 5-year plan period, and of course we need to hurry. I believe that in Sofia in November there will be a very earnest conversation that will allow us to reach a new level in our economic relations.

On the question of the peculiarities of this conference of the Political Consultative Committee, Nikolay Ryzhkov remarked: The changes currently taking place in the fraternal states left their mark on the course of the discussion and on the speeches of the participants. The talk was of the economic and political reforms that are being implemented in the fraternal states, and there was an interpretation of the new processes and the new concepts for the development of the socialist countries.

In conclusion, Nikolay Ryzhkov described the atmosphere at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee. It was friendly, he said. Like-minded people were meeting. We realize that each country is unlike any other. We realize that today very much has changed in the world and in our relations. We can merely advise one another. Not give orders or directives. Everybody understands this well, and of course this told on the work of the conference. But the atmosphere was, I repeat, amicable and friendly. This does not mean, however, that everybody was as one in their views on this or that specific subject. Each person voiced his own opinion.

So as to give a true assessment of the work that was done, I shall remind you that, in parallel with the conference, there were many meetings and conversations being held; the leaders of parties and the heads of governments were holding meetings; bilateral problems were being discussed; intensive work was going on. This is natural. Because we are meeting, we must have a certain level of interest and question for one another. We exchanged opinions on how the processes are going in our countries.

We need to do this in order to repeat as few of one another's mistakes as possible. If one country has already made a mistake, why should another country repeat it?

Thus, said Nikolay Ryzhkov in conclusion, there was very intensive work going on outside the official sittings. A great lot of work has been done, and now specific jobs are awaiting us all.

More on Ryzhkov's Talks

PM1007112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meetings in Bucharest"]

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Jul—A meeting was held here today between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, who have been taking part in a conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

During the conversation, which proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere, the two countries' heads of government informed each other on topical questions of restructuring in the Soviet Union, reform processes in Hungary, and work being done in both countries in the interests of creating a democratic socialist society. In this connection, they expressed a mutual interest in the success of the restructuring processes in both countries and the solution of the topical socioeconomic tasks facing them on this basis.

A great deal of attention was devoted to fundamental questions of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in various spheres and the prospects of its further development. Both sides stressed the need to speed up work to improve the mechanism of bilateral economic and scientific-technical ties, as well as multilateral cooperation between socialist countries within the CEMA framework.

During the discussion of international problems, the two countries confirmed their commitment to the new political thinking and their coordinated policy of improving the international situation.

An accord was reached on continuing Soviet-Hungarian high-level contacts.

On the same day N.I. Ryzhkov had a meeting with C. Dascalescu, member of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) Central Committee Political Executive Committee and prime minister of the Romanian government.

N.I. Ryzhkov informed him on the work of the first USSR Supreme Soviet session and the new approach to forming the Soviet government at the session. For his part, C. Dascalescu talked about progress made in implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress in the socioeconomic sphere and about the preparations, now begun, for the Romanian communists' next party forum.

A great deal of attention was devoted to the deepening and improvement of Soviet-Romanian cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, and other spheres. In addition to discussing a number of current issues, they conducted a preliminary discussion on some ideas put forward by the two sides for expanding Soviet-Romanian economic ties in 1991-1995 by using new forms of economic collaboration on a long-term basis. The heads of government agreed that greater dynamism must be imparted to cooperation between the two countries and ways to enhance its effectiveness must be actively and consistently sought. In this connection they underlined the importance of implementing the accords reached at the summit meeting in Moscow in the fall of 1988.

The conversation proceeded in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

Meeting at 'Crucial' Time

PM0807164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondents V. Vedrashko and V. Sharov dispatch: "Working for Peace"]

[Text] Bucharest, 7 Jul—The press center at Bucharest's Intercontinental Hotel had probably not seen such a multilingual gathering of journalists for a long time. The Romanian capital is currently at the center of world public attention. The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee [PCC] Conference has begun its 2-day meeting here for the sake of peace and the strengthening of the peoples' security.

0900...Journalists are invited to one of the halls of the State Council building, where the delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia, and the representatives from the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces have taken their seats. The press is allowed in for a few minutes to get a feel of the atmosphere, see the working conditions, and take some TV and stills pictures.

The hosts had chosen one of the oldest and prettiest buildings in central Bucharest—the former royal palace—for the conference. The flags of the seven Warsaw Pact states are flying outside the entrance. The rectangular table, the old chandeliers and windows, and the baskets of fresh flowers on the five small tables in the center give the hall where the PCC is meeting a formal and ceremonial air.... The press is asked to leave.

By tradition PCC conferences are held behind closed doors. The results of the conference and the documents it approves will become known on Saturday 8 July. They are impatiently awaited. The practice of past years convinces us that PCC conferences produce initiatives and proposals that concern the fate of mankind and are

imbued with the philosophy of peace. It is all the more important to emphasize this now that positive steps and trends in international relations are becoming increasingly clear and weighty.

The current PCC conference is made particularly important by the fact that the top leaders of the Warsaw Pact states are consulting at a crucial time in the history of socialism. Socialism is engaged in revolutionary renewal and a creative quest aimed at revealing as fully as possible the humane foundations and fundamental advantages of the new society and making its development highly dynamic. People are the center of all this work and concern. The Bucharest meeting participants, it is believed here, will analyze the specific situation taking shape in Europe, the world, and the socialist community.

As has already been reported, part of the Soviet delegation headed by M.S. Gorbachev arrived in Bucharest from France. The results of the Soviet leader's meetings and talks on the banks of Seine will leave their mark on the PCC's work too. The Soviet delegation is at the center of attention. Press representatives would like to get information "at first hand" and to hear impressions and assessments of the results of the visit. They expressed such a desire at the very first briefing.

Today's Romanian newspapers gave the PCC conference pride of place in their pages. SCINTEIA, the RCP Central Committee organ, featured a front-page report on the event. Our Romanian friends and the peoples of the fraternal countries wish the conference success and fruitful work.

'Constructive' Approach Hailed

LD1107103589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1311 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jun (TASS)—The TASS diplomatic correspondent writes: the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states which has been held in Bucharest has quite rightly been called a new stage on the path of improving international relations in Europe and in the world as a whole.

The Pact states spoke out in favor of ensuring stability and security in Europe, the assertion of relations of a new type based on overcoming confrontation, and the strengthening of trust and good neighborliness. They stressed the importance of the development of extensive mutually beneficial cooperation in different spheres, based on equality of rights, the need for all countries and peoples to take part in the press problems on the continent.

Proceedings from the fact that the differences between individual states or their groupings should not obstruct mutual understanding and co-operation, the pact states noted the importance of the fact that the processes occurring in various parts of the continent have promoted the development of relations between states on a bilateral, multilateral, and the Europe-wide basis.

The importance of stepping up mutually beneficial economic and scientific cooperation with the member countries of the CSCE was stressed and the particular acuteness of the question of development and deepening of cooperation in solving ecological problems was noted.

The participants in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee called the expansion of cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, the promotion of contacts among people, the development of cooperation in the exchange and dissemination of information as well as the encouragement of cooperation and exchanges in the sphere of culture and education, an inseparable part of the efforts aimed at improving the situation in Europe.

They stressed that one of the main prerequisites for securing peace and cooperation in Europe is the implementation in every country of the whole range of rights and principal human freedoms, and advocated the complete implementation of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights in all their interdependence.

Advocating the guaranteeing of military-political and territorial stability in Europe, the allied states proceed from the position that every people itself determines the destiny of its own country, and is within its rights itself to choose the socio-political and economic system, and the state structure, which it considers appropriate for itself. Stability presupposes the rejection of confrontational doctrines and reliance on force, and the disallowing of direct and indirect intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

Signing the document of the conference, the leaders of the Warsaw Pact Organization countries demonstrated a constructive and realistic approach, taking into account the interests of all Europeans, including those of a military-political organisation such as NATO. Now it is necessary for all the decisions taken in Bucharest to find expression as real accords.

Officials See Delegation Off

LD0807124889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 08 Jul 89

[Text] Today the Soviet delegation headed by Mikhail Sergeyvich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet which, took part in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference left Bucharest. It comprises Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs; Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary

of the CPSU Central Committee; and Army General Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of defense.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, his wife, and members of the Soviet delegation were seen off at the airport by Ceausescu general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania [SRR]; Dascalescu, member of the RCP Political Executive Committee and Romanian prime minister; Olteanu, member of the RCP Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Stoian, member of the RCP Political Executive Committee [as heard] and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Totu, candidate member of the RCP Political Executive Committee and Romanian foreign minister; Milea, candidate member of the RCP Political Executive Committee and Romanian defense minister; and other party and state leaders of the SRR.

Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to the SRR, was among those seeing off the delegation.

Pact Commander in Chief Lushev Interviewed

AU0607121489 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 26 3 Jul 89 pp 1,6

[Interview with Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, by Eva Kostova: "Unity at the Service in Peace"— on 27 June, in Bulgaria, place not specified]

[Text] The general was about to depart following a brief, working visit to our country. A few minutes after our interview his aircraft was ready to take off from the airport. For this reason our interview was brief and "unscheduled" ["vun ot protokola"].

[Kostova] Comrade General, why is your visit so brief and businesslike? Does it mean that you do not like our country?

[Lushev] On the contrary, this is my second visit to Bulgaria. I have the most pleasant impressions from my meetings with your military-political leaders and with ordinary people in Bulgaria. This is why my best wishes for health and personal happiness are addressed to all of them.

[Kostova] Can you describe the main features of your present visit? To what extent have the meetings you held during your visit contributed to the consolidation of combat cooperation and unity among the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries?

[Lushev] We discussed topical subjects with Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, with Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the general staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, and with other leading military officials and army officers.

The meeting with Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, turned into a cordial conversation which reflected total unanimity of views on the problems of further improving the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces and on the requirement further to consolidate cooperation among the armies of our allied countries, so that we may protect the achievements of socialism.

We discussed several questions related to the future prospects, the development and consolidation of friendship and fraternal cooperation, to improving the quality of training and combat readiness, to strengthening the mechanisms of mutual work within the framework of the armed forces in our fraternal countries.

We also discussed a series of problems related to the international situation, problems which were reviewed at the Vienna meeting in connection with the reduction of armaments and confidence building measures. Our unanimous views and approaches on cooperation in this sphere and on our further joint actions were manifested during the talks.

[Kostova] Will disarmament and the reduction of armed forces not affect security?—Such opinions are also heard....

[Lushev] New political thinking and the new realities of the world call for disarmament and reduction of armed forces. Nevertheless, in accordance with the defense doctrine of our armies and with the further consolidation of the Warsaw Pact combat alliance, we, militaries, consider the qualitative improvement of combat readiness, the perfection of our combat equipment and armaments as our most essential tasks aimed at the defense of the achievements of socialism, so that we may serve our own interests, along with the interests of peace and progress.

It is in this context, precisely, that the strengthening of unity and militant cooperation, which contribute to make us stronger, assume a particular importance.

[Kostova] I would like to ask you about conversion. For someone who is not a specialist in this field it may be very interesting to observe the transition from military to peace industry, but the practical implementation of this task is certainly a rather complication matter?

[Lushev] The conversion process is connected with the reduction of armaments and the cuts in the military budget. The transition from military industry to the production of other consumer goods actually involves certain difficulties, because it affects some organizational questions and numerous production problems, interests, and so forth. Nevertheless, this is a requirement dictated by life that will greatly depend on the results of the Vienna negotiations.

The time has come for me to say goodbye and to convey my best, peaceful wishes to the POGLED collective and to its readers.

[Kostova] Thank you, Comrade General, and farewell!

Hungarian Army To Be Reduced by 8.8 Percent

LD0807112889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] An announcement has been made in Budapest about a cut in the size of the Hungarian Army. At a press conference in the Ministry of Defense, journalists were told that the size of the unilateral reduction will be approximately 8.8 percent of the present numbers of personnel and weapons. The first stage of the reductions will start as early as August with the disbanding of a tank brigade which is presently stationed in the area between the Danube and Tisza Rivers. The Hungarian leadership made this decision in agreement with its allies.

Bloc Foreign Policy Conference Opens in Minsk

LD1107093989 Moscow TASS in English 0757 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Minsk July 11 TASS—A conference of Deputy Foreign Ministers of socialist countries opened today in the capital of Belorussia. Its participants will discuss for three days topical problems connected with the agenda of the coming 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly. They wil exchange views on the attitude to the main problems facing the world community, and on cooperation in the sphere of economy, the social sphere and the international law.

EC-Style Bloc Currency Advocated for CEMA

PM1107111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Professors N. Bautina (USSR) and U. Wojciechowska (Poland): "Viewpoint: The Chervonets...New Currency?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The main obstacle to market relations between CEMA countries is the fact that reciprocal deliveries are bilaterally balanced at central level in terms of convertible rubles—funny money.

The paradox is that, on the one hand, the development of direct ties between enterprises is a question of the vitality of the CEMA countries' collaboration while, on the other, every partner is endeavoring to provide the home front with energy sources and raw materials and in this context the establishment of quotas for a given group of "hard" commodities when coordinating plans suits the members countries. This has led to exclusivity, autarky with regard to third countries, and ultimately to a lag in many spheres of science, technology, and production.. The traditional quota system cannot be abandoned right away when coordinating plans. However, it is quite possible to start up a new mechanism for commodity exchange alongside this system. It must be founded on an international socialist currency, which could be called the "chervonets."

Real international wholesale trade must be opened up—for the time being—for a narrow group of CEMA countries' best enterprises using the new international currency. This currency must be able to circulate on interested countries' markets. Our countries are not ready to open up their markets to one another. That is why the amount of chervonets issued will determine the limit of free trade. The strongest partner—the Soviet Union—and its State Bank [Gosbank] must, in our opinion, issue the chervonets. Central banks in the interested socialist countries can obtain the chervonets from the USSR Gosbank on the basis of the appropriate agreements in exchange for national currency or for free (that is how, for instance, EC countries obtain their collective monetary unit—the European Currency Unit).

In countries involved in the new currency system the chervonets will be a parallel currency alongside the national currency and will be exchanged freely for socialist national currencies, that is, national currencies can be bought with the chervonets and vice versa. The future of the chervonets lies in full convertibility, including Western convertible currencies, although this looks impossible in the initial period of the new currency's existence. As a "harder" currency, really backed up with goods and services, the chervonets will help develop and strengthen the CEMA countries' economies.

The purpose is to ensure that our markets are conquered by the chervonets rather than the dollar.

NATO Parliamentarians Visit Supreme Soviet

PM1007133989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Dialogue On Key Issues"]

[Text] The first visit to our country by a representative delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly, headed by its chairman, P. Duffy, was a good sign in the context of improving East-West relations. On 3 July, in Moscow, there was a conversation at the USSR Supreme Soviet Committees on International Affairs and on Defense and State Security with the delegation members—parliamentarians from 12 NATO countries.

The legislators debated for more than 4 hours. All kinds of issues were raised: problems of disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, the concept of building a common European home, the progress of the talks on reducing conventional armaments, confidence-building and security measures in Europe, and much else. The Supreme Soviet's guests showed a lively interest in the implementation of political and economic reforms in our country and the concept behind the new Soviet military doctrine and reasonable sufficiency.

The different stances on some issues that were revealed during the debate did not dampen the meeting participants' mood, since the frank questions and answers, the amicable atmosphere of the meeting, and the desire to understand one another show that the days of confrontation and mutual recrimination are becoming part of the past. The time has come for constructive dialogue. As a result of the fruitful exchange of views at the meeting the main directions of cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the North Atlantic Assembly were identified, with a view to contributing to the success of the multifaceted negotiating mechanism between East and West on disarmament issues.

Delegation Visits Leningrad

PM1007145789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Stay in Leningrad"]

[Text] Leningrad, 7 Jul—The North Atlantic Assembly delegation headed by its chairman, P. Duffy, ended its 2-day stay in the city on the Neva today.

During talks at the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee the guests were told about the city, its industrial potential, and its foreign economic activity.

It was noted that Soviet people view the visit by parliamentarians from the 12 NATO countries as a good sign in the context of East-West relations. U.S. Senator C. Robb stated that he believes the delegation's visit to the Soviet Union is historic.

At the Piskarevskiy Memorial Cemetery the guests paid tribute to the Leningraders and servicemen who perished during the Great Patriotic War years, and laid a wreath.

They visited the Marshal of the Soviet Union A.A. Grechko Naval Academy, the Central Naval Museum, the Hermitage, and toured Petrodvorets.

Scaled-Down Maneuvers To Replace 'Reforger'

PM1007152989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov dispatch: "Scale of Maneuvers Reduced"]

[Text] Brussels, 7 Jul—General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander, Europe, has announced that for the first time the large-scale "Reforger" maneuvers, which rehearse the transfer of military units from the United States to West Germany, will not be held this fall. There will only be exercises covering U.S. troops sited in the FRG. However, this is a one-shot decision. The "Reforger" maneuvers will be held in 1990.

Planned NATO Bases in Turkey, Italy Assailed

PM0607074989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "The Right Course?"]

[Text] These reports have a very direct bearing on NATO's southern flank, to which the bloc's leadership and also the Pentagon are devoting clearly increased attention. The first concerns Turkey. After 2 years of negotiations that country has given the United States its consent to the modernization of the U.S.-Turkish base at Pirinclik. The second has come from Italy. It has been announced there that the Santa Anna Airfield, located in the small town of Isola di Capo Rizzuto in Calabria, has lost its civilian tag and been officially designated a military base.

First about the base at Pirinclik. The Pentagon is already starting to replace the radar computer system there, which was installed back in the sixties, with a most modern one. In addition, a satellite ground station will be constructed at the base to improve communications with other U.S. military installations in West Europe and with the United States itself. A U.S. spokesman has announced that other negotiations concerning the modernization of six more U.S. military installations in Turkey, among them several airbases, are also nearing completion.

As regards turning the Italian, hitherto civilian, airfield into a military one, this is essentially another step on the way to the upcoming transfer of 72 U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers to the south of Italy. They are the very aircraft of the 401st Tactical Air Wing of the U.S. Air Force whose removal from the Torrejon de Ardoz Airbase near

Madrid by 1991 has been demanded by Spain. A year ago the Italian Government, ignoring numerous protests both inside and outside the country, adopted a decision to shelter in the Apennines the U.S. air wing that is being banished.

True, hopes emerged at one time that the F-16 aircraft might be sent across the ocean, to the United States, directly from Spain. That was when G. Bush announced his intention of reducing the U.S. troops stationed in West Europe, including the Air Force. However, those hopes were fated to be short-lived. They were dispelled by Italian Defense Minister V. Zanone, who declared that the invitation to the U.S. aircraft still stood, because their "vitally great importance for the defense of NATO's southern flank has not changed."

But is it a matter of "defense"? As is known, F-16's are capable of delivering nuclear weapons a distance of up to 1,000 km. Stationed in Italy, they will, as the weekly RINASCITA emphasized, be in a position to reach the Soviet Union's territory. Thus, the magazine pointed out, these U.S. aircraft will be able to fulfill the same role as the missiles being destroyed under the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

The decision concerning the Santa Anna Airfield should be viewed as evidence that NATO intends to accelerate the start of work on constructing the airbase in the town of Isola di Capo Rizzuto, where it is planned to "land" U.S. F-16's in the spring of 1991. The volume of work is great, as it is necessary to construct barracks for 8,000 U.S. servicemen, storehouses, hangars, and standing areas for these combat vehicles.

The increasing activity to improve NATO's infrastructure on the bloc's southern flank is clearly out of step with the times. The trends toward easing international tension and lowering the level of military confrontation are increasingly taking hold of people's minds and hearts. But certain NATO circles are stubbornly continuing to follow a militarist course by creating more and more new military bases and erecting a lethal mountain of weapons on the European Continent.

UN Support for Indian Ocean 'Zone of Peace' Urged

LD1007103789 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Vladimir Matyash:

The ad hoc committee on the Indian Ocean is now in session at U.N. headquarters, discussing preparations for a conference to be held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1990. The conference is expected to help implement the declaration proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The declaration was adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1971.

Daya Perera, chairman of the ad hoc committee and permanent representatives of Sri Lanka at the United Nations, pointed out at the opening of the session that a majority of the committee member-states were in favour of holding the conference as planned.

Originally, the U.N. General Assembly called for holding this important international forum in 1981. However, the United States, which seeks to keep its military presence in the Indian Ocean, sought to frustrate the convocation of the conference.

The Indian Ocean area is known to have been turned into a United States' forward line in recent years. A powerful military infrastructure—about 30 bases and facilities, including those on Diego Garcia island situated in the heart of the vast region—has been established there. Diego Garcia's modernised harbour makes it possible to receive nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft carriers with escort ships.

According to the Western press, nuclear weapons are kept on the island, and chemical weapons were stored there. A U.S. naval task force consisting of one or two aircraft carriers, nuclear-powered submarines, guided missiles cruisers and amphibious ships intended for combat operations constantly cruise in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea.

It is also known that Washington uses any pretext for building up its military presence in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The U.S. tries to justify its growing military presence in the region by citing the need to avert a 'threat' to navigation of the ships of all countries which use the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean ports.

There seems to be little doubt that the growing militarisation of the region poses a threat to the independence and sovereignty of the littoral states of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

As far as the safety of navigation is concerned, the problem can be tackled without resorting to threats and military bludgeons. All countries that use the Persian Gulf could search jointly for a way to ensure freedom of navigation in the Indian Ocean as a whole.

Specificaly, the Soviet Union suggested launching multilateral talks to elaborate guarantees of the safety of sea lanes throughout the ocean area, including those in the strategically important Persian Gulf.

The realisation of this important initiative would promote peace eforts in the conflict-ridden region, help avoid the spread of conflicts, bring peace back to the peoples inhabiting the region, and ultimately result in the establishment of a zone of peace, trust and cooperation.

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Bush's Visit to Poland

Bush Warned on Offering Advice

LD1007131289 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] The U.S. President, George Bush, has begun his European tour in Poland. On Tuesday he leaves for Hungary, and after that he goes to France and the Netherlands. Aleksandr Pogodin of our staff writes that in one of his speeches in Warsaw the U.S. President spoke about the desire to achieve a unity of Europe to overcome the split that took shape after World War II and stressed the importance of changes taking placing in the world.

Naturally this approach finds understanding and sup, ort among the socialist countries. Transition from confrontation to mutual understanding and cooperation, the renunciation of outdated stereotypes, all these are characteristic features of the new political thinking pursued by the socialist community. During his visits to Poland and Hungary George Bush is to hold talks with the leaders of these countries to discuss international issues, bilateral relations, and trade and economic ties. It's expected that East-West relations, including economic cooperation will be discussed in Paris where the U.S. President will take part in a meeting involving the heads of seven leading Western countries.

It's important to take constructive steps in this direction, and a great deal has already been done. Mikhail Gorbachev's recent trip to France has confirmed the growing tendency for cooperation between countries with different social systems and a search for political solution of burning problems. Naturally, this is possible when every nation is guaranteed the right to choose its political and social system and when there's no interference in each other's affairs.

In this connection it's important to point out one thing with reference to the U.S. President's close advisers: News agencies have been reporting that George Bush will press for reducing the role of the communist parties in the socialist countries that he is to visit. It's hard to say whether this information is authentic or not, but it's clear that such an approach would be doomed to failure. The socialist countries independently resolve the issues of their internal changes and democratic developments, so any outside advice will bring nothing but harm.

Bush Agenda in Poland Previewed

OW1007132889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1050 GMT 10 Jul 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] As we have reported previously, U.S. President George Bush is in Poland on an official visit. Today he is scheduled to make a speech at the republic's parliament—the Sejm and the Senate.

In the opinion of many newspapers, one of the main issues that Bush will discuss in Poland and later in Hungary—where he will be going from Warsaw—is the question pertaining to bilateral relations the United States will have with these countries, as well as trade and economic relations.

It is known that a difficult economic situation, exacerbated by huge foreign debts, has developed both in Poland and Hungary. Poland's debt to Western banks and creditor countries, including the U.S. banks, is $39 billion, while Hungary's debt stands at $18 billion.

U.S. Secretary of State Baker, who arrived in Warsaw after completing his trip to Asian countries, stated that one of the key questions at the talks will also be the matter of economic and political transformation that is taking place in European socialist countries. This will also be an important part of the agenda at the forthcoming meeting of seven leading Western countries which will take place in Paris. That is where the U.S. President will be heading after the completion of his visits.

As far as the economic issues, the talks will be focused on the postponement of Polish and Hungarian debts, making new credits available to these countries, and advantageous loans.

Bush, Jaruzelski Remarks Cited

PM1007152289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "G. Bush in Warsaw"]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul—U.S. President G. Bush arrived in Poland for an official visit at the invitation of W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish State Council. He was met at Warsaw airport by W. Jaruzelski and other officials. Poland is the first stage on the U.S. President's tour of European countries, in the course of which he will also visit Hungary, France, and the Netherlands.

During his visit to Poland G. Bush will hold talks with the chairman of the Polish State Council and other Polish leaders on a number of international problems, first and foremost the question of the development of East-West relations, and also on problems of bilateral relations, including trade and economic relations.

Welcoming the U.S. President, W. Jaruzelski stressed that Poland is resolutely following a path of profound sociopolitical and economic reforms. It sees the process of democratization, national consensus, and the formation of civic mutual responsibility for one's own state as a necessary condition of its successful development.

The positive trends in the international arena favor the changes in Poland. The awareness of the interdependence of the destinies of states and peoples and the

necessity for dialogue and the replacement of the philosophy of hostility with the philosophy of rapprochement and collaboration is becoming increasingly widespread. This is Poland's philosophy too.

W. Jaruzelski expressed the hope that the visit will give a powerful boost to the development of all spheres of Polish-American cooperation and make a positive contribution to the cause of detente and the creation of a good climate in East-West relations.

In a reply speech G. Bush asserted that the American people feel an ardent desire for the whole of Europe to be united and free. He stressed that the fresh wind of change that is now blowing throughout the world has undoubtedly seized Poland too, where so much has changed.

Noting that he is pleased to be in Poland again at this exciting time, the U.S. President said that history is now opening up a new, brighter future for Poland. Poland has embarked on a path of genuine democratic changes. Climbing is a gripping, though not always easy task, it will require further self-sacrifice. But if you continue to climb, it will lead to the rebirth of the Polish people.

Speaking of the transformations that have taken place in the country recently, G. Bush stressed that Poland is now making its own history. America and the whole world are watching attentively. The Polish leadership and you, Mr Chairman, he stressed, addressing W. Jaruzelski, showed wisdom and valor in embarking on the path of the "roundtable" accords. What is happening here now inspires the whole world. Much still remains to be done. Let us work together to widen and open up new spheres in American-Polish relations, the U.S. President said.

At the Belweder Palace W. Jaruzelski and G. Bush had a meeting. Plenary Polish-American talks began.

Jaruzelski Addresses Sejm, Senate

LD1007174289 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw July 10 TASS—A joint meeting of the Sejm and Senate of the Polish People's Republic was held here today. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, and President of the United States George Bush, on an official visit in Poland, were guests of honor at the meeting. The distinguished foreign guest was warmly greeted by Marshal of Poland's Sejm Mikolai Kozakiewicz.

Addressing the meeting, Jaruzelski said that Poland and the United States belong to different military-political blocs. Having allies guarantees national security, which meets Poland's vital interests, he said. Jaruzelski pointed to the proposal for the simultaneous disbandment of both alliances to bury the ax of war forever, the proposal that was repeated many times, also at the latest meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Bucharest. This would be logically continued by complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from territories of others.

Thoroughly analysing the dangers and prospects, Poland participates creatively in the process of consolidating peace. The country's stability and security is linked inseparably with the situation in Europe and is a substantial element in East-West relations, Jaruzelski said.

Jaruzelski recalled that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev addressed Polish parliament from the same rostrum a year ago. His official friendly visit to Poland introduced a new chapter in Poland's relations with its great eastern neighbour, confirmed again the correctness of the philosophy of new thinking, Jaruzelski said. The speaker assessed as a good sign the fact that the leaders of the two powers spoke in Polish Parliament in Warsaw over the past 12 months.

He said that George Bush's visit to Poland is taking place at a time of historic transformations in the country's life. Bold and irreversible, profound social, political and economic reforms are being made. The main public forces, guiding by a sense of common responsibility, proved that they can be above differences and wounded feelings, can disregard petty grievances and get down to the business of restructuring together, he said.

A collective experiment on a huge scale is being implemented in Poland now. Democracy is developing and will be developing in parliament, in local government and workers' self-government bodies, in trade unions and public organisations. There will be no deviation from this process. The main yardstick for the reforms being implemented is and will remain their genuine effectiveness. Only those transformations that will meet genuine aspirations of society, improve its life, consolidate civil liberties, strengthen Poland's stability, security and positions in the international arena will pass the test of time, Jaruzelski said.

Bush Speaks to Sejm, Senate

LD1007210789 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—President of the United States George Bush, on an official visit here, addressed on Monday a joint meeting of the Sejm and Senate of the Polish People's Republic at which he and President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski were present as guests of honor.

George Bush noted that a profound cycle of turmoil and great change is sweeping the world from Poland to the Pacific. Now the genuine opportunity exists to build by joint efforts a Europe of the future that will be open, whole and free. And a new East-West relationship must rest on greatly reduced levels of arms. A good beginning has been made. Constructive proposals are being offered

on both sides. The new willingness in Moscow to accept Western proposals for arms reductions gives one hope that the negotiations in Vienna will succeed, Bush said. The President is of the opinion that reductions in military forces must take place in parallel with political change. Poland's decision to embrace political reform and Hungary's movement in the same direction thus have great importance beyond their borders. They can be the foundation of stability, security, and prosperity, not just here, but in all of Europe, Bush said.

Poland and Hungary find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform without guarantee of easy success, Bush said. Emphasising that economic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices, the President said the United States stands ready to help, as Poland helps itself. He set out the plan of measures consisting of six points which includes the promise to propose at the upcoming economic summit in Paris that the nations of the summit of seven intensify their coordination and concerted action to promote democratic reform in Poland and Hungary, and provide to Poland deferral of debt payments. The President also stated the intention to ask the United States Congress to provide a 100 million dollar fund to invigorate the Polish private sector, his intention to encourage the World Bank to move ahead with 325 million dollars in economically-viable loans to help Polish agriculture and industry. The President said he will ask the Congress for 15 million dollars for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution in Krakow. And, finally, the President announced that the United States will establish a cultural and information center in Warsaw and will ask Poland to establish a similar center in the United States.

Dwelling on political pluralism and social peace, President Bush said that Poland's progress along this road will show the way toward a new era throughout Europe—an era based on common values and not just geographic proximity.

Jaruzelski, Bush Speak at Dinner

LD1107102689 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—A stable, democratic and secure Poland is not purely a domestic matter. It is also a vital gauge of the European situation and an important factor in the entire range of East-West relations, said Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, addressing a dinner on Monday in honour of visiting U.S. President George Bush.

The great powers bear particular responsibility for the future of Europe and the entire world, the speaker said. The improvement in the Soviet-U.S. relations bolsters the foundations of peace all over the world and has a salutary impact on the entire range of international relations.

The recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states has confirmed the strength of new thinking and the vigorous desire for detente and disarment. We want the United States and its allies to positively evaluate these intentions and meet us halfway, Jaruzelski said.

Poland received the proposals for disarmament, put forward by the United States at the North Atlantic treaty summit meeting, with attention and interest. The Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the ongoing talks on abolishing strategic nuclear armaments and banning chemical weapons, the real opportunities for reducing conventional armed forces in Europe, which are coming into view, as well as evolution of the approach to military doctrines, enhance hopes for further progress in disarmament. Not only Poland, but the whole of Europe and the world strive for this.

Recalling the approaching anniversary of Nazi Germany's attack on Poland, Jaruzelski underscored the need to make sure that the awesome destruction and suffering spelled by the war remain engraved on the memory of succeeding generations. This should be particularly emphasised, he said, because some still question the borders that formed as a result of the Second World War, and the stability of the territorial-political framework, Jaruzelski said.

Poland is going through a peculiar period now, Jaruzelski went on. The "round-table" marked the beginnings of Polish parliamentary democracy and the country has firmly embarked on this path. The recent elections have created opportunities for the broad involvement of the key social forces in the operation of the state system. Mutual responsibility for the destiny of the state, its successes, its position in Europe and the world are linked with this. Simultaneously, this is a great historic experiment whose success is crucial for Poland.

In his reply George Bush thanked the Poles for the warm reception he received and noted great progress in the last two years in many areas of U.S.-Polish relations: in the sphere of culture, trade, consular ties, science and human rights. He commended the major reforms in Poland and said that there implementation is a difficult process where there are no easy answers or free solutions.

But, he said, there is a sound foundation of hope for the future—not only for new processes in Poland but also for the beginning of European reconciliation, for Europe to become integral and free and in peace with itself.

Bush wished Poland success on the path of transformations and said that the United States had mapped out ways to give aid to Poland so that it could help itself on its own. A great amount of work still remains for the two countries' governments, he said.

Bush Arrives in Gdansk

LD1107111689 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—U.S. President George Bush now staying in Poland on an official visit arrived in Gdansk today.

President Bush and officials who accompany him were met at the airport by Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, representatives of the Gdansk Wojewodztwo and municipal authorities, as well as of the Polish Naval Command.

China

Problems of PRC Economic Reform Viewed

PM1107094389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Reform Steps"]

[Text] Beijing—Different times, different priorities. The events of recent months, when Chinese society's social stability was upset, the waves of student unrest in Beijing spread to other cities, and, finally, martial law was introduced in the capital—IZVESTIYA readers know all about this. Key questions of modernization and reforms were somehow pushed into the background. Even now, as Jiang Zemin, the new general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, stated, the task of "completely eradicating the counterrevolutionary revolt and putting an end to the disorders" still remains. All the same, thoughts about the fate of the reform, whose economic aspects are forging ahead increasingly resolutely, are arousing attention from the press and are being pondered by professionals.

Where is the reform in China going? This is not an academic question. The Chinese leadership has declared its adherence to the course whose origin should be sought in the December 1978 plenum, which brought historic changes to the country's huge expanses. The policy of reform and openness to the world. This is obvious. There is no going back to the closed society, just as a return to the administrative-edict system, which brought with it many problems, is impossible. A retreat would bring even greater difficulties, observers and scientists believe, than those which arise on the new path. Destruction of the existing, albeit imperfect, system of production, exchange, and distribution would cause economic harm to society and be a psychological blow to people.

Nowadays the press is offering scant information about bold experiments in the reform sphere. This tendency also emerged at the spring session of the National People's Congress; although it also declared the continuation of the reform course to be one of the main lines of development, there was no detailed discussion at the session of the various forms of market economy which have emerged in the renewal years (foreign currency markets, real estate shares, and so on).

After society challenged wage leveling, social problems concerning the unfair distribution of benefits in society appeared. In the latest party theoretical journal QIUSHI (SEEKING TRUTH), reflecting on this phenomenon, Jiang Zemin writes: "The income gap between private traders, who earn thousands of yuan per year, and the majority of people who work in the state sector is too great. This has a negative effect on the attitude to labor of state sector workers and leads to social instability...." It is wrong, the CPC Central Committee general secretary believes, for a few private traders, whose educational level is sometimes very low, to earn much more than the intelligentsia and honest industrious workers. In addition, many of them, he stresses, have become wealthy by illegal means, via speculation and tax evasion. Business activity must be very thoroughly investigated and put in order. New laws and regulation of the market are needed. Entrepreneurs must declare their income and sources of supply, the Chinese Communists' new leader believes.

All the indications are that the first steps of the Chinese economy's private sector, which emerged in the reform years, are difficult and ambiguous. And existing legislation is still unable to ensure its normal development.

A new feature. Preparations are being made for the opening of the country's first wholesale market for the grain trade is being prepared in Zhengzhou (Henan Province). It is a matter of trading in the grain which remains after mandatory state deliveries are fulfilled. Draft rules regulating this market's activity have been prepared by the Ministry of Trade and await the State Council's ratification. Specialists regard this step as a challenge to the state monopoly on all major grain deals and prices. The market will deal with wholesale dealers not only in Henan Province, but also in other provinces. Prices will fluctuate according to demand. Hitherto the state has established a ceiling on prices and has had the exclusive right to trade in this grain. After a 3-year experiment, the creation of other similar markets in the country is planned.

Now the rectification policy, which began in the fall of last year, is aimed at improving the economy and imposing order in the market. The figures for the 1st 5 months of the year recently published by the statistics administration in some degree make it possible to sense the trend and see the problems. Primarily observers drew attention to a slight, scarcely perceptible, fall in inflation in the cities, which are particularly affected by it. The growth of industrial production this year amounted to only 11 percent (last year it was about 18 percent). As we can see, there are signs of a certain cooling in the "overheated" economy, one of the ailments of recent years.

Experts are convinced that the progress of the rectification policy is too modest. There is still no prospect of a total end to inflation. The urban population must prepare for a possible drop in living standards, which is psychologically very difficult in the context of their constant growth in the first reform years. The nature of inflation is complex—many contradictions and disproportions in the economy and in society as a whole are manifested in it.

Reducing the pace of development in China was never an end in itself. In principle, balanced growth is needed, whereby the processing industry will not run away so rapidly from its base. However, in recent years the Chinese economy developed precisely in this way.

And one more observation: The statistics for the 1st 5 months of this year showed that the prime cost of output increased by 18 percent, the amount of losses in industry increased noticeably, and as a result the correlation between state budget income and expenditure deteriorated. All this indicates that, as before, the problem of efficiency is one of society's main unsolved problems. It is not for nothing that the slogan "Efficiency is life" is emblazoned on the facade of many Chinese enterprises.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Generals 'Brain-Center' for Afghan Rebels

LD0707111189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Commentary by Kabul correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando]

[Text] The period of short-lived tranquillity has changed in the last few days into a period of combat actions. Peaceful villages are again going up in flames. Towns are being barbarically bombarded and completely innocent people are being destroyed. Such a change in the situation is being connected here with the arrival in Pakistan of a group of U.S. generals who have been instructed to take on the role of the brain-center for conducting the dollar jihad. In conditions where the jihad has lost all sense following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, even for many field commanders of the armed opposition, the transoceanic protectors of the irreconcilables are trying to put it on a commercial basis. In this case calculations are on those [word indistinct] bands of ringleaders who over the years of senseless war have forgotten what it is to go about working peacefully. Now, for every head of a killed fellow countryman, they will be able to get several hundred dollars.

What is the reason for such generosity on the part of the transoceanic protectors? First and foremost their global plans to liquidate the present Kabul regime by 1 November this year. In accordance with this plan, extremist offensives have begun on a number of main towns in Afghanistan. The fiercest fighting has been conducted around the town of Jalalabad. The irreconcilables' combat actions were actively supported by the artillery of the XI Infantry Corps of the Pakistani Army. The Afghan capital was also subjected to barbaric fire.

But even in these difficult conditions Kabul and all the main centers are continuing to live a normal life. Of course, you won't see a smile on the faces of most Afghan people. One person will have lost a relative, another (?someone close to him). However, they all understand that in the event of the fanatical leaders of the irreconcilable opposition come to power, their fate will become even worse.

The U.S. strategists do not want to understand this. For them the main thing is how to bring down the Najibullah regime as soon as possible. However, in my view, it will not be a simple matter for them to achieve this. Despite all of the complexities of the conflict, this regime, in more than 4 months without a Soviet military presence, has proved its vitality, and the main thing is that the people support it.

Najibullah Warning on War With Pakistan Cited

PM1007132789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Goal Is Reconciliation"]

[Text] Kabul, 9 Jul—The Republic of Afghanistan has been unswervingly observing the commitments it assumed as part of the Geneva accords, President Najibullah has stated in an interview with a group of representatives of the Pakistani mass media who were here at the invitation of the Afghan journalists' union. The Pakistani side, however, in breach of the provisions of those accords, has not only not ceased interfering in our internal affairs but has also been expanding the scale of the aggression against the sovereign state and impeding the voluntary return home of Afghan refugees.

If the Pakistani side has any questions regarding Afghanistan's fulfillment of the Geneva accords, we are ready to discuss them.

We welcome the election of Benazir Bhutto as prime minister of Pakistan and consider that this will serve the cause of an Afghan settlement. We also received with satisfaction her recent statement on the desire to resolve the Afghan problem by political methods. However, verbal support for such a settlement is clearly not enough. It must be backed up by real deeds.

The signing of the Geneva accords presupposed contacts, meetings and talks between the sides involved in the event of a breach of the provisions of those accords. The Pakistani side has shown no readiness for such talks.

Replying to a question from the Pakistani journalists on the national reconciliation policy which is being implemented in Afghanistan, the Afghan head of state noted

that its aim is the complete cessation of military actions, the solution of disputes by means of talks, the creation of a broad-based coalition government involving all parties, political forces, and social and political figures both within the country and abroad, and the holding of a Loya Jirga to ratify a new constitution for the country, on the basis of which truly democratic elections would be held. The national reconciliation policy is to be implemented on the basis of the principles of political pluralism and a multiparty system.

The national reconciliation policy is already yielding positive results. At present more than 60,000 people from the armed opposition groupings have ended resistance and joined in the process of restoring peace and security. The successes of the national reconciliation policy, Najibullah stated, would be far more considerable if the armed interference in our state's affairs ceased.

There is no doubt that, if the Pakistani side's aggression continues, the flames of war will spread to its territory too. It will lead to the emergence of a dangerous new regional conflict, the Afghan president stressed in conclusion.

Afghan Foreign Minister Calls UN Attention to War

LD1007174289 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] New York July 10 TASS—Afghanistan's Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil called the United Nations attention to a dangerous situation in Afghanistan and around it as a result of the escalation of the aggression of Pakistan and its allies and new plans to attack Afghanistan.

'Abdul Wakil's message to the United Nations secretary-general published today as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council calls for undelayed efforts to stop aggression, intervention, war and related hardships in Afghanistan.

The minister, specifically, asked Javier Perez de Cuellar, in the process of discharging functions entrusted to him by the 43rd session of the General Assembly and related to the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan to intensify good offices to prevent and frustrate adventuristic designs which pose a serious threat to peace and security in the Republic of Afghanistan and in the region.

A statement of a representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry on Afghanistan, dated from July 3, was also circulated today as a document of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The statement notes that the spiralling of tension in Afghanistan and in the region, the heightening of confrontation in conditions when there is a real opportunity to stop it can only lead to new loss of life, without solving any problems—domestic or external.

The document stresses that the opposition should at last consider specific real peaceful steps by which it could respond to the call of Afghanistan's Government for national accord.

Afghan Premier Cited on Food Supply Problems

PM1007155989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, 5 Jul—On Tuesday an emergency session of the Republic of Afghanistan Council of Ministers was held here devoted to questions of ensuring food supplies to the population. Addressing the session, S.'A. Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers Executive Committee, stressed that the plans of the current Afghan year for the supply of wheat and flour to the population are not being met because of complications arising on the highways and also because of omissions in the work of a number of ministries and departments. He called on the session participants to mobilize all available resources to resolve the food problem.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan passed two more notes to the UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) which cite further details about violations by Pakistan of the provisions of the Geneva accords.

Yazov Receives Soviet POW Release Committee

LD1007174489 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 10 Jul 89

[By TASS correspondents Igor Agabekov and Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—A delegation of the People's Committee for the Release of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, "Nadzhda", which yesterday returned to Moscow from a trip to Pakistan was received by Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defence minister, today. The committee's co-chairman Yevgeniya Poplavskaya told TASS that members of the delegation shared with the minister their impressions from the trip, spoke about meetings with Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan, with leaders of the armed Afghan opposition based on Pakistan territory.

Poplavskaya said Dmitriy Yazov had listened attentively and with compassion to the mothers of missing Soviet servicemen and promised to give every possible assistance to the further activity of the committee aimed at establishing whereabouts and bringing back home all the Soviet prisoners of war who are still kept by the armed Afghan opposition.

Sharing her impressions from the trip to Pakistan, the co-chairman of the committee said that the Pakistan authorities officially stated to members of the delegation that they would assist the attempts to bring about the

release of Soviet prisoners of war. The delegation's efforts met with positive response of the Pakistan public, particularly of the women's movement. Representatives of the Pakistan public expressed the idea of setting up in Karachi a committee for the rescue of Soviet servicemen.

Poplavskaya also said that the International Red Cross promised to set up mobile groups whose task will include establishing whereabouts and actual number of captured servicemen.

Aleksey Amelin, the father of a missing Soviet soldier, told the journalists: "It is not in vain that we have made the trip. We have taken an important step. Let our children be waiting. We shall exert every effort to bring them back home."

A member of the committee's leadership said that on July 17 members of the committee will fly to Afghanistan for meetings with Afghan leaders.

Pakistani Minister Pledges Aid to Soviet POW's
PM1107105789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Komsomol Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting took place yesterday between N. Paltsev, secretary of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee, and Pakistani Youth Minister Gilani. The minister expressed the Pakistani Government's desire to develop relations with the Soviet Union, particularly in the sphere of youth cooperation. They discussed the possibilities of exchanging youth delegations between the two countries in the near future and the prospects for cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee and the ministry headed by Mr Gilani, set up recently by the Bhutto government.

Dwelling on the question of the return home of Soviet prisoners of war on Pakistani territory, the minister stated officially that, if the Soviet side designates the specific whereabouts of the imprisoned Soviet soldiers and if they are identified, the Pakistani Government will offer immediate assistance in getting them released. All questions linked with the Afghan problem must be resolved by peaceful means alone, the minister stressed.

Rebels Fire More Than 30 Missiles on Kabul 10 Jul
LD1007111189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1051 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Kabul, 10 Jul (TASS)—The Afghan capital suffered concentrated rocket shelling this morning. There are many casualties. One of the areas where the tragedy happened was Aliabad Street. A TASS correspondent at the scene reported that two cyclists died as the result of a direct hit by a rocket, and two more people died soon after from shrapnel wounds. According to incomplete information, over 30 "surface-to-surface" missiles fell on the city over a short period. [passage omitted]

Afghan Army Successes in Jalalabad Recounted
PM1007115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

["Review Prepared by" M. Yusin: "Afghanistan: Successful Offensive by Government Forces"]

[Text] The major counteroffensive launched by the Afghan Army against mujahidin positions in the Jalalabad region has been crowned with success. A statement by the Afghan Armed Forces Supreme Military Command notes that government forces have pushed the enemy some 10-15 km back towards the south and southeast, to the positions from where the mujahidin launched their massed offensive against Jalalabad last March. The Afghan Army has thus regained control of positions captured by the insurgents 4 months ago.

According to news reports coming in from Kabul, the government forces are developing the offensive in pursuit of the retreating enemy.

Referring to a statement by an official spokesman of the Najibullah government, AFP reports the Afghan Army's capture of Samar Kheyl base—a key position on the approaches to Jalalabad which was being held by the mujahidin. The base, 15 km southeast of the city, was captured by the mujahidin on 7 March, at the very start of their spring offensive. Using Samar Kheyl as a bridgehead, the mujahidin managed to organize the siege of Jalalabad.

According to Kabul Radio reports, the enemy has lost 270 dead and 210 wounded as a result of fierce fighting in the vicinity of Jalalabad in the last few days. Government forces have captured six tanks and a considerable quantity of other arms.

REUTER reports that, in the opinion of Western military experts, the loss of Samar Kheyl could have very serious consequences for the opposition formations operating in the vicinity of Jalalabad. The point is that the insurgents are now left without a single fortified defensive position between Samar Kheyl and Towr Kham, which lies near the border with Pakistan, to enable them to withstand pressure from government forces and gain time to regroup their own forces. "If Najibullah's army manages to establish itself on the territory it has captured, the mujahidin's entire planned offensive on Jalalabad is threatened with collapse," the news agency notes.

The mujahidin themselves have been forced to admit their failures. The AFGHAN NEWS AGENCY (ANA), mouthpiece of the "government" proclaimed by the opposition, reported a "surprise counterattack launched

by the Kabul regime's forces out of the besieged city of Jalalabad." The agency also mentions the fall of Samar Kheyl and the fact that government forces have reached the positions they held before the start of the mujahidin's March offensive.

Referring to testimony by battlefield eyewitnesses, ANA reports that the Afghan Army's offensive was preceded by many hours of missile and artillery preparation. Afghan Air Force aircraft (MiG's, Sukhoys, and Antonov transports used as bombers) delivered massed strikes against positions held by antigovernment formations. The opposition detachments are retreating in all directions, and some commanders are being forced to blow up arms and ammunition dumps to prevent them from falling into the hands of Afghan Army soldiers. The agency reports that the mujahidin have had to surrender three more military outposts in addition to Samar Kheyl.

According to ANA, the difficulties being experienced by the mujahidin are "temporary," but right after this claim the agency cites one of the opposition's combat commanders who, it is easy to see, is far from optimistic. "Unless we receive new shipments of heavy arms in the immediate future, the situation could become catastrophic for the Afghan people and for the region as a whole."

In the last few hours the editorial office has received news reports that fierce fighting is already going on at the approaches to Towr Kham, the mujahidin's last stronghold between Jalalabad and the border with Pakistan. It was even announced in Kabul that the city is already under the Afghan Army's control. A little while later, however, an official government spokesmen corrected this report and clarified that the battle for Towr Kham is still going on, the situation remains complex, and it is too early to talk about the city's capture.

At the same time as information from the theater of military operations near Jalalabad, Kabul is also receiving reports about fighting in other sectors of the front. It is, of course, not on the same scale, but is still worth mentioning. For example, opposition formations launched an attack on the city of Khowst (in the east of the country) 6 July. Government forces managed to repulse the offensive, killing 17 and wounding 28 insurgents.

According to an AFP correspondent's report from Kabul, insurgents have again fired missiles at the Afghan capital. A total of 11 missiles were launched against the city. There were four civilians killed and seven injured. The barrage damaged the building housing the UN mission assigned to monitor the implementation of the Geneva agreements.

News agencies transmitted in the morning of 7 July reports on a sitting of the Supreme Defense Council held in Kabul and chaired by President Najibullah. The news agencies draw attention to the fact that, despite the major military successes in the last few days, the Afghan leadership has repeated its proposal to opposition leaders to cease combat operations and solve all disputed problems around the negotiating table. "It is necessary to seek ways to halt the bloodshed," the council's statement stresses.

Western correspondents draw attention to another factor in their reports from Kabul. The Afghan Government has for the first time published data on mujahidin losses in the period since the withdrawal of Soviet troops. A spokesman for Afghanistan's Armed Forces announced at a meeting with journalists that around 15,000 insurgents have been killed in just under 5 months of fighting (from 15 February through the beginning of July).

Defense Minister Cited

LD0807183889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Outside Jalalabad detachments of the irreconcilable opposition have been routed. A report from our correspondent:

[A. Shkirando] For 4 months the name of this administrative center of the eastern province of Nangarhar has been mentioned every day in the roundups of news agencies throughout the world as the hot spot in Afghanistan. And this was true. Just a few days ago one of the command posts of the so-called fighters for the faith was situated in this kishlak, Samar Kheyl. Having surrounded Jalalabad from all sides they hoped to starve it out. Specific dates for the capture were frequently announced. Nonetheless they were not helped either by these piles of weapons or the persistent commands emanating from their leaders in neighboring Peshawar.

All their calculations did not come true, because neither the Afghan Army nor the residents of Jalalabad wavered. Everyone stood to defend the town. Of course the victory was not an easy one, and that is why it is being marked with such extraordinary joy, although within a few hours many of those taking part in this march will be in their combat positions again.

[Begin recording] [Colonel General Shahnawaz Tanay, Afghan minister of defense, in Dari with superimposed Russian translation] It is still early to talk about a total victory, but nevertheless one has to take into account that outside Jalalabad the Afghan Armed Forces withstood not only the rebels, but regular troops in the full sense of the word. All the operations were planned by the Pakistani military clique and Saudi advisers. Incidentally, during the latest counteroffensive one of these advisers was captured. On the whole we have restored the position that existed on 6 March, that is, before the rebel offensive on Jalalabad. The successful defense has raised even higher the military morale of our soldiers and officers.

This combat operation has shown once again that the Afghan Armed Forces are capable of fighting and winning, although I should stress that all our actions are of a defensive and not offensive nature. We have not and shall not depart from the principles of the national reconciliation policy. But the enemy should know that we will not allow him to dictate his terms and expose the lives of his compatriots to danger. For doing this he can expect the same retribution that befell him outside Jalalabad. [end recording]

Mujahidin Said To Begin Doubting Military Success
PM1107085989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Excerpt] The Afghan theme continues to worry the world public. At a briefing in Moscow on 6 July, Yu.A. Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, drew journalists' attention to the statement made by Prime Minister Musavi of Iran during his meeting with Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan to the effect that the definitive solution of the Afghan problem lies through close cooperation among the states which share a border with Afghanistan. Musavi particularly pointed to the need for cooperation between Iran, Pakistan, and the USSR in settling the Afghan problem as soon as possible.

However, while politicians are deliberating, blood continues to be spilled and civilians to die in Afghanistan. Here are the latest details. On 5 July Kabul was subjected to rocket fire, and there were casualties. The armed opposition has also shelled the outskirts of Herat. Civilian casualties caused by the shelling of cities and population centers are provoking a negative reaction among the extremists themselves. Thus, for instance, two rebel groupings have recently switched to the Afghan Government side. There is also evidence of growing misgivings among the rebels as to the ability of the "alliance of seven" government to achieve success by military means. [passage omitted]

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angola's Dos Santos Receives Adamishin 10 Jul
LD1107082989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0030 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Luanda 11 Jul (TASS)—On Monday, J.E. dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola] Workers' Party and president of the Peoples's Republic of Angola, received A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. They held an exchange of opinions on a wide range of issues affecting settlement of the situation in South-West Africa. It was reiterated during the discussions that the Soviet Union and Angola are on common ground regarding strengthening peace and stability in the region. The USSR staunchly backs the People's Republic of Angola, President J.E. dos Santos, and the Angolan Government's efforts to reach national reconciliation and a peaceful solution to the republic's domestic problems. Once these tasks are resolved, it will be possible to switch the country's resources fully to the goals of peaceful development in the interests of all Angolans. Certain aspects of friendly Soviet-Angolan relations were also discussed.

During A.L. Adamishin's stay in Luanda, he also met P. de Castro van Dunem, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Angola, Ricardo Alarcon Quisada, Cuba's deputy foreign minister, H. Cohen, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, and M. Ahtisaari, the UN secretary general's special representative for Namibia.

Cooperation Protocol With Angola Signed in Luanda
LD0707135989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 07 Jul 89

[Text] Luanda, 7 Jul (TASS)—The sixth regular meeting of the Soviet-Angolan intergovernmental commission on economic and scientific and technical cooperation and trade ended here today.

The two sides discussed the state of and prospects for the development of relations within the framework of the long-term program of economic and scientific and technical cooperation and trade between the USSR and the People's republic of Angola for the period 1986-1990 and looking forward to the year 2000. They devoted particular attention to increasing the efficiency of cooperation and to giving it a mutually beneficial nature taking into account the possibilities of both countries.

The participants in the meeting defined the priority directions for cooperation and decided to study questions concerning increasing supplies of coffee to the USSR on a compensation basis and using new forms of economic ties, including the creation of joint enterprises in the field of oil, quartz, and diamond extraction. The soviet side pledged to continue giving Angola assistance in running energy projects, restoring bridges and tunnels, carrying out geological exploration, topographical and [word indistinct] work, medical care for the population, and training national specialists. Cooperation in the field of fisheries will be continued.

On completion of the commission's work, a joint protocol on cooperation for the period up to the commission's next meeting in Moscow in 1991 and beyond was signed.

Commentary Hails Angola Truce Accord
PM3006112989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Tyurkin commentary: "Angola: Observer's Opinion"]

[Text] The news brought by the teletypes from the "Versailles in the jungle"—the luxurious residence of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko in his native town of Gbadolite in the north of the country—primarily shows that there are no insurmountable obstacles for the new political thinking.

A mere 6 months have passed since agreements were reached on a settlement in southwest Africa, and here we have another result of constructive efforts by all sides—an accord on the cessation of combat operations in Angola. The bloody discord in Angola which, until quite recently, seemed insoluble and interminable, is to cease on Friday night.

The handshake in Gbadolite between Angolan President J.E. dos Santos and the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], J. Savimbi, in the presence of the leaders of 21 African states, which sealed the accord on a ceasefire in Angola, symbolizes an unquestionable breakthrough on the political and diplomatic front—a breakthrough that opens up new horizons.

Furthermore, this is not just a breakthrough for Angola or southwest Africa but a breakthrough for the entire continent. As a witness of several African conflicts, including the Angolan conflict, I would venture to say that if people have managed to reach an accord here, none of the remaining hotbeds of tension in this part of the world can henceforth be considered hopeless.

War has been tearing Angola apart for almost 30 years. This country, extremely rich in natural resources, has in fact been paralyzed and the sacrifices it has made are incalculable. Suffice it to say that, according to information supplied by international organizations, this country has the highest percentage of cripples, orphans, and refugees in the world. Direct losses from military operations alone run into tens of billions of dollars.

But now real conditions have been created for this nightmare to be left behind at long last. Compromises have had to be made, of course. That is true of the settlement process in the region as a whole. Although only scant information has been made available on the details of the Zaire accords, there is no doubt that both the government and UNITA have made serious mutual concessions. It could not be otherwise, however. The main thing now is for both sides to keep their word and not succumb to the temptation to cross swords again.

A word of praise must be given to African diplomacy and the efforts of the mediators—the presidents of a number of African countries and the OAU. The aim they set—to resolve the conflict by peaceful means—has been achieved. The successful outcome was also helped by the new situation created in the region by the efforts of the entire world community, the big powers—primarily the Soviet Union and the United States—and the United Nations.

The truce in Angola has every chance of growing into peace as long as the accords on granting independence to neighboring Namibia are honored and on condition that outside interference in Angola's internal affairs ceases. This primarily concerns the United States, which supports UNITA and refuses to recognize the Angolan Government. The president of Zaire will soon be leaving for Washington to discuss this problem there. Will it be solved quickly and effectively? In any case, the general opinion is that all the preconditions for this now exist.

SWAPO Releases 'Moderate' Election Manifesto

LD0307121689 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Luanda July 3 TASS—The South-West Africa People's Organisation has proclaimed the goal of establishing national control over Namibia's resources, SWAPO's manifesto said.

Thousands of people in Windhoek, Namibia's administrative centre, hailed the manifesto which was read at a rally in a Windhoek suburb.

Other goals proclaimed in the manifesto include conducting a policy of creating a mixed economy in the country, taking measures to gradually level incomes of whites and blacks, and combatting corruption.

SWAPO expressed confidence of the advantage of the socialist way of development over the capitalist one. At the same time, the manifesto gives guarantees to the private sector which now prevails in Namibia.

Observers point to the moderate, pragmatic nature of the SWAPO programme.

The manifesto said that no large-scale nationalisation measures are planned for the foreseeable future and that SWAPO will encourage all forms of property, including state-run farms, cooperatives, small and big farms.

The private sector will be proposed increasing deductions from profits for the development of the national economy, above all agriculture, the manufacturing and mining industries.

The main goal, the manifesto said, is to achieve national control over the country's resources and reasonable correlation between profits of foreign and local capital and funds allocated by it for the needs of the Namibian people.

The manifesto pays much attention to the development of the fishing industry. In scientists' view, Namibia's coastal zone is one of the world's richest in fish resources, but foreign firms are now exploiting them actually without any control.

SWAPO proposes introducing a 200-mile zone and imposing duties on foreign fishermen for the right to fish there.

The manifesto said that a SWAPO government will insist that South Africa return to Namibia the currency it received from exploiting Namibia's natural wealth and used for its own needs.

It pointed to the need to lessen the dependence of the Namibian economy on South Africa and establish economic relations with other countries.

The election campaign, under way since last Saturday, is being held under a U.N. plan for Namibia's decolonisation. More than 30 political parties, affiliated in various associations, are taking part in it.

The elections to Namibia's Constituent Assembly will be held next November.

Yefimov Meets Nigerian Defense Minister

PM1007142489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Departure From Nigeria"]

[Text] Lagos, 7 Jul—The official visit to Nigeria by Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, has ended.

During the visit the Soviet guest was received by Nigerian President I. Babangida and had talks with Defense Minister Lieutenant General D. Bali and commanders of categories of troops.

On 8 July Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, who was in Nigeria on an official visit, returned to Moscow.

Adamishin Receives African Envoys

PM0707085389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, has received Kimasi Matuiku Basaula, Zairian ambassador in the USSR. During the conversation both sides expressed satisfaction with the positive processes in Southwest Africa, including the recent accords that have hastened the attainment of peace in Angola.

On the same day A.L. Adamishin received Abdullahi Egal Nur, Somali ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request for a conversation on certain questions concerning the situation in the Horn of Africa.

Cape Verde Cultural Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD0107124489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0706 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Bissau, 30 Jun (TASS)—A protocol on cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Cape Verde for the years 1989-90 has been signed in Praia. It envisages the rendering of assistance by the Soviet Union in cadres training, exchanging radio and television programs as well as journalists and writers, and also the widening of scientific and cultural relations.

East Europe

Hungary Disappointed at House Vote on Bush Bill

PM1107102589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Abridged" reprint of MAGYAR HIRLAP commentary under the rubric "The Press Bears Witness": "Encouraging Gesture?"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Hungarian newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP has published a commentary by Hanna Szalai, which we now quote in slightly abridged form.

I think that not only my expectations in connection with President Bush's forthcoming visit to Hungary have been cooled by the vote in the House of Representatives, which rejected the President's proposal to grant Hungary most favored nation status for 5 years. Bush submitted his bill immediately after the reburial ceremony in Budapest on 16 June. (She is referring to the reburial of I. Nagy and his associates, on which IZVESTIYA has already reported—editorial note) Perhaps it was a chance coincidence, but many had seen this as an encouraging gesture affecting how we feel as a nation. The vote in the House of Representatives came the day after the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee plenum.

The world press is unanimous that the creation of new leading structures at the plenum—the Presidium, which has four members, and the MSZMP Political Executive Committee—and also the people chosen as their members are the result of a compromise, which has made it possible to avoid a split in the party, while simultaneously advancing reformist forces. The West is praising us, working on the basis that the new structures will follow the path of social democratic and socialist parties. At the same time, they are pointing out that K. Grosz, the general secretary, has lost ground because henceforth he will be concerned solely with the affairs of the party apparatus.

The majority of foreign commentators describe three members of the Presidium—I. Pozsgay, R. Nyers, and M. Nemeth—as politicians of the Western type who are close to social democracy, setting them in contrast to K. Grosz, who has "failed to keep pace" with the changes (if he had, he would now be accused of being fickle...). With regard to R. Nyers, the new chairman of the MSZMP, commentators are perhaps overestimating his commitment to a market economy (of the Western type). It is worth quoting the following statement made by Nyers: "A socialist market economy.... I am in favor of this definition, because it emphasizes both the noncapitalist and market nature of this economy. It must be a truly

market economy but at the same time be influenced by a broad social policy. We have to find the kind of solution to ensure that, unlike the Stalinist model, the socialist market economy can make good use of capital."

For this, of course, we need capital. And that is why we originally entertained such ardent hopes for President Bush's visit, Hanna Szalai concluded her commentary.

Romanian Army Political Workers Arrive on Visit
PM0407101189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain Third Rank P. Ishchenko report: "Guests From Romania"]

[Text] On 30 June a delegation of leading political workers from the Romanian Army led by Lieutenant General I. Ceausescu, Romanian deputy national defense minister and secretary of the Supreme Political Council of the Romanian Army, arrived in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The Romanian guests were met at the airport by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and other political workers.

Those present included I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union.

On the same day the delegation laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

The delegation of leading political workers from the Romanian Army has gone to Severomorsk.

The delegation, led by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, member of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, deputy national defense minister, and secretary of the Supreme Political Council of the Romanian Army, was met at the airport by Vice Admiral S. Vargin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Northern Fleet Political Directorate.

The delegation is being accompanied by Colonel General V. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Delegation Visits Severomorsk
PM1007134789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Captain 3d Class P. Ishchenko: "Guests of Severomorsk"]

[Text] The delegation from the leading political department of the Romanian Army, which is in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, has arrived in Severomorsk.

The delegation headed by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, member of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, Romanian deputy minister of national defense, and secretary of the Romanian Army Supreme Political Council, was met at the airport by Vice Admiral S. Vargin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Northern Fleet Political Directorate.

The delegation is being accompanied by Colonel General V. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Lizichev Sees Off Delegation
PM1007160189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A delegation of leading Romanian Army political workers headed by Lieutenant General I. Ceaucescu, Romanian deputy national defense minister and secretary of the Romanian Army Supreme Political Council, which was visiting the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, left Moscow 5 July for home.

The Romanian comrades were seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and other political workers.

The send-off party included I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the USSR.

Party Members Assails 'Totalitarianism' in Romania
18070677 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 14 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by the Press Service "World XX": "Romania: 'Letter of the Six'"]

[Text] This letter was written to the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania N. Ceausescu by six veterans of the Romanian Communist Party, who have held key party and state positions at various times. The letter expresses protest against totalitarianism and violations of human rights in Romania.

Monitoring of the correspondence of citizens. Bugging of private phones. Bans on contacts with foreigners and prison terms for violating them. Control over society by the security service. Forcible relocation of peasants from villages to special communes and "agrarian cities." Assimilation of minor ethnic groups. The cult of Ceausescu personality and the exclusive position of his family clan in the count The prosperity of party officials.

This is the reality of present-day Romania. We can add difficulties with food supplies to the above. In the everyday life of common Romanians, they are harder to put up with than the eavesdropping on phone conversations. One can talk to his friend in the street as well (having previously made sure that he is not being tailed). On the other hand, it is not easy to get by without meat and bread...

The official Romanian statistics maintain that the grain crop has been growing continuously. However, bread sales have been switched to a ration-card system. An urban resident may buy one loaf a day, rural residents—only two to three loaves a week. The crop has been declining, but the state has been exporting ever greater quantities of agricultural products. The state sells its products to other countries, while introducing one restriction after another for its own citizens. For several years now, meat and meat products, sugar, animal and vegetable fat have been rationed. Recently, cereals, macaroni, and, in some localities, potatoes were added to this list...

It is not surprising that the dissatisfaction with the socioeconomic policy of the leadership has been growing in all strata of Romanian society. The absence of glasnost in the country, the reinforcement of command-bureaucratic methods in all spheres of life, and the growing international isolation of Romania contribute perceptibly to the growth of dissatisfaction. Last week in Paris, many Western participants in the human rights conference referred to Romania as the most undemocratic state in Europe (with the possible exception of Albania).

The dissatisfaction among Romanians is growing. Social apathy is spreading and getting stronger. People have no confidence in the future, and are trying to escape totalitarianism behind the walls of their apartments, shutting themselves up into their own shell. Thus far, the Romanian leadership has been successful in maintaining the belief that the "hard times are temporary" among a considerable segment of the populace. Also, the myth about "incompetent ministers and enterprise managers," and poor business skills (and on occasion malevolence) which are supposedly responsible for all the woes of Romania, is skillfully cultivated in the country.

However, many people are becoming increasingly convinced that the issue is not bad ministers but rather major miscalculations by the top leadership. The issue is that planning and management of the national economy are absolutely not up to par, that the personality cult of the general secretary of the PCR [Romanian Communist Party] is increasingly being built up, that the family clan of Ceausescu strives to preserve and consolidate its exclusive position in the party and society. (The wife of Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena, is the first deputy prime minister, and member of the Political Executive Committee of the PCR Central Committee; the son Nicu is a candidate member of the Political Executive Committee. One of the most immediate relatives is a minister, and so forth). It is also clear to many people that the deteriorating internal political situation is not a temporary process at all...

All of this has brought about the reinforcement of opposition attitudes in Romania. The opposition is beginning to assume organized forms. It is becoming united, despite the absolute control by the party and state apparatus over the mass media, despite the presidential decree banning unauthorized contacts with foreigners by Romanian citizens, despite the total control over every person by the Romanian security service, "Securitate." From time to time, information on one form of protest or another, or on attempts to protest the situation emerging in the country finds its way to the circles of journalists in Bucharest.

The so-called "letter of the six" to the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania N. Ceausescu has become the sharpest form of protest. The response to it has been extensive both inside the country and beyond its borders. The authors of the letter are veterans of the Romanian Communist Party who have held at various times key positions in the party and the state.

In early March of this year, the letter was given simultaneously to N. Ceausescu and the Western mass media. The text of the letter was immediately broadcast to Romania by Western radio stations. (This was done several days in a row.) The letter became a "hidden" explosion in the development of the political situation in Romania, and has influenced this development to a considerable degree.

Here is the text of the letter in full:

President Nicolae Ceausescu!

We decided to speak up at a time when the idea of socialism, which we have fought for, has been discredited by you, when our country is finding itself in isolation in Europe.

We are fully aware that in doing so we may lose our freedom and even life. However, we consider it our duty to appeal to you with a suggestion to change the present course. Otherwise, it will be too late.

The international public opinion is accusing Romania of failing to comply with the Helsinki accords, which you have signed yourself. Citizens of Romania accuse you of violating the constitution which you are flouting.

Here are the facts. On the whole, the plan of systematization and relocation of peasants to 3-story buildings contravenes Article 36 of the Constitution, which protects the right of citizens to their own residences and the adjacent territory.

The decree banning contacts with foreigners by Romanian citizens was never discussed by the legislative organs, was never published, and is not legally valid. Yet, our citizens are being persecuted for this, arrested, and thrown in jail.

The outlay for the construction of the "Civic Center" (administrative center in Bucharest, where buildings for central party and state organizations and residential subdivisions for the staff of central organizations of the country are being erested—editorial note), the greatest investment project in Romania going into billions of lei, was not publicly discussed, and construction is proceeding without regard for any laws. Gigantic expenditures caused by changes in the interior and exterior finishing are made in keeping with your instructions which you give every month.

The security service, called upon to protect the socialist order from exploitative classes, is now operating against workers who demand that their rights be ensured, against party veterans, and courageous intellectuals who demand that Articles 34 and 28 of the Constitution on the freedom of speech granted by the Constitution be complied with.

At factories and in offices, people are forced to work on Sundays in violation of Article 19 of the Constitution and the Labor Code.

Correspondence is systematically monitored, and telephone conversations are interrupted, which contravenes Article 34 guaranteeing the secrecy of correspondence. In short, the Constitution is seriously violated, and there is no system of putting an end to this situation.

We must admit, Mr. President, that society cannot exist if the highest leaders disobey the laws. We are aware of the results of Romanian reality. The meetings of the Political Executive Committee analyze everything in the past, calling on the working people to make up for the slippage in the plan for last year, last quarter, or last month.

The number of plants which suffer due to the absence of raw materials, energy, and spare parts is increasing. The situation in agriculture is neglected even more. Severe administrative measures are taken against the peasants, who, according to your own statistics, produce on their farmstead plots 40 percent of vegetables, 56 percent of fruit, 60 percent of milk, and 44 percent of meat, despite having a mere 12 percent of arable land.

At present, systematization is being paid dominant attention. Seven to eight thousand villages are to be destroyed. This program involves economic, cultural, and humanitarian problems. We are asking a legitimate question: Why are the villages being urbanized if we are incapable of ensuring elementary amenities for the population—heat, light, and transportation, to say nothing of foodstuffs?

The government which has failed to solve these vital problems of the populace for five winters in a row appears incompetent and incapable of governing. This is why we are not making any request in this matter.

The fact that the Germans, Hungarians, and Jews are emigrating en masse testifies to the necessity of putting an end to forced assimilation. Finally, we are deeply concerned with the rapid decline in the authority and international prestige of Romania. As you know, this is confirmed by specific decisions of some states to close down their embassies in Bucharest. The most unpleasant fact is that some European countries, such as Denmark and Norway, have already closed down their embassies, and others may follow suit. Increasing isolation affects diplomatic relations as well. We have lost the most-favored-nation status granted by the United States, and, as a result, some textile plants have no orders. The "Common Market" is refusing to sign an agreement with Romania, which affects unfavorably other spheres of our economy.

You have always been in favor of summit meetings which, as you believe, are decisive in establishing good relations between states. However, how are you going to improve Romania's international ties if all heads of noncommunist states of Europe are refusing to meet with you? Romania is and will remain a European country. As such, it should participate in the Helsinki process rather than turn away from it. You have begun to change the geography of rural areas, but you will not be able to transplant Romania to Africa.

With a view to halting the unfavorable processes, both internationally and domestically in our country, which affect Romania negatively we are appealing to you for the following measures to be taken as the first step:

1. In the immediate future, give up definitively the plan of systematizing villages.

2. Restore constitutional guarantees of human rights.

3. Put an end to the exports of foodstuffs which endanger the biological existence of our nation.

The letter was signed by: Gheorghe Apostol, former first secretary of the PCR Central Committee in the 1950's; Constantin Pirvulescu, one of the founders of the Romanian Communist Party, its general secretary in the prewar years; Constantin Birladeanu, former member of the PCR Central Committee Political Executive Committee, deputy prime minister, and chairman of the State Planning Committee; Corneliu Manescu, former minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Silviu Brucan, former editor in chief of the newspaper SCINTEIA (organ of the PCR Central Committee), representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the UN and envoy to the United States; and G. Raceanu, PCR veteran.

Almost all citizens of Romania have heard the letter on Western "radio voices." (These voices are the only source of truthful information for the Romanians. Information inside the country passes through the ideological filters so powerful that there is no truth left in it.) The very fact of compiling this letter, to say nothing about its content (an open and direct challenge to Ceausescu!), has made a very great impression on the public of the country. Xerox copies of the letter are still being sold surrepticiously at Romanian markets for 1,000 to 1,500 lei (approximately 120 to 170 rubles). In all the strata of Romanian society, the letter has received support. All of those familiar with its content voice respect for the courage of the six elderly people, who have managed to express in their message the attitude of an overwhelming majority of Romanians.

The response of authorities was also swift. Several days after the letter was published in the West, the Romanian press reported on the "detection by the state security organs of an act of high treason committed by diplomat Mircea Raceanu." The latter is the adopted son of one of the authors of the letter. He is charged with ties to a foreign intelligence service. The diplomat worked in the United States for a long time.

In Romania, it is believed that the "case of M. Raceanu" is trumped up in order to punish one of the authors of the letter, as well as with a view to intimidating all those who would dare to raise their voice of protest against the authorities. Under the Romanian law, the crime which M. Raceanu is charged with is punishable by execution by a firing squad.

On 17 March, SCINTEIA carried an editorial under the title "Strict Compliance With the Laws of the Country, Resolute and Firm Resistance to All Actions Damaging the Interests of the People and Our Socialist State—An Important Requirement of the Revolutionary Patriotic Spirit." Among other things, the article says that failure to comply with the regulations for preserving state secrets, unbecoming conduct in contacts with representatives of other states usually occur because of weaknesses and shortcomings which appear harmless, such as boasting, "omniscient air," thoughtlessness, superficiality, and slovenliness in handling secret documents. The article stresses that tolerating such phenomena or exhibiting such attitudes plays into the hands of traitors, spies, enemies of the people, and opponents of socialism.

Following the lead of SCINTEIA, the Romanian press overflowed with calls for increasing militancy and strict compliance with the established rules for communications with foreigners. Yet another upsurge of spy mania is skillfully promoted in the country. A "witchhunt" is under way.

At the human rights conference currently under way in Paris, Romania is drawing the sharpest criticism. As a French journalist pointedly observed, in Romania the wheel of history has not even stopped. It is spinning in the opposite direction.

West Europe

Experts Arrive in Brussels To Inspect MiG Debris

LD1007171189 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Brussels July 10 TASS—A group of Soviet experts led by Air Force Lieutenant-General Yevgeniy Rusanov, chief of the Defence Ministry's Flight Safety Service, arrived here today to establish the cause of an accident involving a MiG-23M plane which crashed near the Belgian town of Kortrijk on July 4, killing an 18-year-old youth.

The Soviet experts jointly with Belgian colleagues will inspect the aircraft's debris and analyse information contained in the so-called black box, an automatic flight data recorder.

PRAVDA on Gorbachev's Paris News Conference

PM1007105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 3, 4

[TASS report: "Press Conference in Paris"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand gave a press conference at the Elysee Palace 5 July.

Francois Mitterrand's Speech

Ladies and gentlemen, I will say a few words. Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and I have already held a press conference of this kind several years ago, in 1985. So we are not starting anything fundamentally new. This is the second visit to France by Mr Gorbachev and his wife. In the intervening period I have visited the Soviet Union several times myself. We have practically returned to the principle of annual reciprocal visits. During the past 2 days, which will be followed by President Gorbachev's visit to Strasbourg tomorrow, we have discussed a great number of questions during our many hours of talks. Talks were also held with the prime minister and many Soviet and French ministers. A number of agreements were signed. In addition to these agreements, the main spheres of good and stable cooperation between the Soviet Union and France were outlined. Everything hinges on our frame of mind and political will. We felt that this is precisely the case. This political will does exist. We did not turn a blind eye to the difficulties inherent in this task. We are aware of the conditions which prevail at present in Europe and the whole world. I will say no more. I would like to introduce Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, as is my duty, and, when he has said a few words, you will be able to ask him any question you like. It goes without saying that I too will be at your disposal. Thank you.

M.S. Gorbachev's Speech

Thank you, Mr President. First I would like to add a few words to what you said. But first of all I will greet the press, which has been highly represented here during this visit. I hope that it is not just I and the president who appreciate the cooperation with the press during the past days.

I would like to once again turn to the French correspondents and ask them to convey greetings to the French people on the occasion of the bicentennial of the great revolution. Our visit on the eve of the main date of that anniversary underscores the Soviet people's respect for the French people. In our country, in marking this jubilee, we regard it also as a factor for further mutual acquaintance and at the same time as an incentive to recognize certain truths which are not just of historical significance.

We are satisfied with the visit. I am talking about the delegation which has been here with me during the past few days. The talks and contacts with President Francois Mitterrand have lived up to our expectations. Our dialogue was truly of a high level, not in the diplomatic sense, but as regards its scale, content, frankness, and degree of mutual understanding.

What have I derived from it? Above all confirmation of the fact that France and the USSR and their relations retain their great potential in terms of bilateral, European, and international significance. I think that we both felt once again that the constantly developing, dynamic nature of these relations is needed not only by our countries and our peoples but also by Europe and the world.

During our talks with the president we saw that we both proceed from the crucial nature of the times being experienced by Europe and the world, where I would say exceptional and unusual processes are taking place which will shape both the immediate and long-term future of the world. This demands a broad approach from politicians and a high degree of understanding of the essence and significance of these processes.

The president and I had no doubts about the fact that the multiformity of development both within systems and in states belonging to different systems is a positive factor. Therefore all the more care and attention must be paid to this in the political sphere.

The processes, as we see it, are developing in a positive direction. But they are complex and fragile and subject to dangers, destabilization, and disruptions which could do tremendous damage not just to the relevant countries, but to all peaceful development, especially here in the European continent, where, strictly speaking, these processes originated.

The present Soviet-French meeting strengthens the stability of the Helsinki process. I believe that the president and I will not appear immodest if we go along with this assessment. The meeting serves to consolidate the positions which this process has reached as a result of the Vienna meeting. It confirms the immutability of the role of Soviet-French cooperation in this. This stems from the strength of tradition, the fact that France and the USSR were the initiators of several joint ideas for Europe, and, of course, from the high degree of development and great experience of dialogue at summit level. Our two countries have long formed two wings of European history and civilization, as it were, especially since the French Revolution and under its influence.

In our talks the president and I touched on regional problems. Their discussion confirmed a great community of approaches and views regarding their nature and ways of resolving them. This applies to the Near East and to Lebanon in particular, where the situation demands urgent and vigorous efforts in order to avert the worst. Although it may seem that after so many years of this tragic conflict which has caused so much loss of life and destruction it would be difficult to imagine anything worse. The president and I share the opinion that the Arab world is consolidating in the desire to settle the Lebanese crisis. And we are ready to assist their efforts.

We hope that our talks in recent days in Paris will still further enhance the role of summit meetings in order to lend greater dynamism to bilateral relations. We hope that these meetings will promote both the development of bilateral relations and European processes.

I have invited Mr Francois Mitterrand to visit the Soviet Union.

As for bilateral relations, which naturally were the focal issue of the talks during this visit, it must be said that many questions were elaborated on both on the eve of the visit and in the course of the visit itself with the participation of foreign ministers and government representatives for economic questions, and no less important, there was an exchange of opinions between our military departments. Incidentally, the information which we obtained today at the closing meeting of the delegations from the representatives of the Soviet and French military departments indicates that the level and dynamics of these talks make it possible to describe them as highly positive.

We have signed, I believe, 22 documents, although originally only 21 were planned. Mr President and I signed a declaration.

In the past few days we have felt that the level and nature of the dialogue at the summit level reflects the sentiments and wishes of our two peoples. And these sentiments favor rapprochement and friendlier relations. These sentiments exist among the French people, and we sensed this directly, although we had little opportunity

for direct contacts and meetings, but there were some, nonetheless. And this enabled us to convey—and French people can note this—a corresponding atttitude toward France also on the part of Soviet people.

And, last but not least, we listened with satisfaction to the president's views on the prospects and potential of our restructuring and to the understanding of its international significance for Europe and peaceful development in general.

When people ask us, and they have asked in the past few days too, what we would like from the West with regard to our restructuring, we say, and I would like to repeat it here, that we want a correct understanding of its meaning and its positive consequences not just for our country and our peoples. As for practical conclusions, including economic ones, this concerns simply everyone.

We know that the decisive role in the success of restructuring belongs to the Soviet people. We also know that what our society needs at present are decisive breakthroughs in the crucial spheres of restructuring so that everyone is able to see that its first stage has been completed not just in the political but also in the economic reform. This is necessary also for the further confident implementation of our tasks in foreign policy on the basis of new thinking.

One more point in conclusion. I receive many letters from France; thousands of them; some 13,000 during the past year, for instance. This year there obviously will be even more. Many of the letters are connected with the present visit. Major, important issues are raised in them relating to our two countries and events elsewhere in the world. They contain many good wishes and advice vis-a-vis restructuring. Most of the letters are very friendly and amicable. Virtually all of them. They also reflect a mood on the part of people which is now characteristic of many countries. We felt this strongly in the FRG recently. And now again here in France. I am grateful to the authors of these letters. I have managed to answer a few of them, but answering all of them is simply impossible. Wherever these letters contain requests. I will make sure that these are duly considered. I would like to say once again that I and my colleagues are grateful to all French women and men for their cordiality, solidarity, and sense of responsibility for the common fate of Europe and the world. Thank you.

Then M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand answered numerous questions from journalists.

Question from a USSR television correspondent: President Mitterrand, on the eve of M.S. Gorbachev's visit in an interview with Soviet television you endorsed the concept of the common [European] home and said: "Since there is a home, it has to be furnished." So at the end of your talks I would like to ask you a question. In your opinion, has any headway been made on furnishing it? Maybe the keys have already been ordered for this common home?

F. Mitterrand: Well, Europe is not just the Soviet Union and France. We are just two of many future co-owners of this common home, to use an expression of Mr Gorbachev's. I am using it to facilitate understanding, but, incidentally, it is a fine idea. Yes, the questions which we have discussed must enable us to furnish this home. A great deal remains to be done since, in my opinion, we are not deciding on the bedroom once and for all, for instance, and we can simply drop into the kitchen to have a snack! Incidentally, even that is quite something. Much remains to be done. But this is the main idea, and I want to add, gentlemen: In the future home some people cannot live permanently in the basement and others in the attic. Consequently, everything must be discussed. The concept has gained popularity. Many sides are taking part here. Europe is the whole of Europe. There are countries belonging to the Eastern alliance. There are countries belonging to the Atlantic alliance. And there are neutral countries. And incidentally, they have very different kinds of neutrality. There are groupings and associations based on cooperation, at least four of five of them. They are all needed. Furthermore, it is necessary for those who are to be in our Europe to agree on general rules among themselves, rules for cohabitation. Otherwise this home will become a hell. So we must make an effort to get to understand each other better and move forward toward a system where the future owners or co-owners will come and go freely, exchanging a few words in the evening, chatting at the table or in front of the television set, in a common language. In short, this is a tremendous process and we are only at the very beginning of it.

Question from a TF-1 correspondent: President Mitterrand has spoken in metaphors, but I would like to cite a concrete example. In at least two countries in central Europe—in Poland and Hungary—the process of democratization is making headway. This democratization process could ultimately lead to a situation in which the communist party ceases to be the dominant force. Is the Soviet Union ready to recognize such a state of affairs?

M.S. Gorbachev: First of all I would like to disagree with your contention that the process of democratization encompasses only two countries. It encompasses all countries to a varying degree, at differing paces, and with varying profundity. Changes have begun or are beginning and are under way. I believe that this is a natural process. It will make it possible in this case, with regard to the countries of socialist Europe, for each country to achieve a new quality and to realize the potential inherent in the socialist system, in the socialist structure, and in socialist democracy. If we agree that building a common European home does not mean and will not mean squeezing out this or that nation, this or that system, or this or that way of implementing social

choice, but will, on the contrary, mean respect for and recognition of everyone's values, cooperation, and exchanges, so that everyone remains what he is but at the same time changes on the basis of contacts, comparisons, and competition, borrowing everything that is best—if all this happens, this will improve life and living conditions throughout the "home." Every people retain the right to choose. That is the central point. Unless we recognize it, we cannot expect anything good to happen in the future of international relations. Therefore what the Polish and Hungarian people do—you mentioned them—is their own business. Our attitude to these friendly peoples, the Polish and Hungarian peoples, is one of great respect.

Question from a Czechoslovak television correspondent: Comrade Gorbachev, you recently visited London and Bonn and now you are in Paris. You had talks with Mrs Thatcher, Mr Kohl, and now President Mitterrand. Does it follow from these talks that your Western partners are fully aware of the extraordinary significance of the restructuring which is under way in your country vis-a-vis stable and promising development of the world.

M.S. Gorbachev: I believe that my recent visits enable me to claim very confidently that in the leaders of these countries we have politicians who understand realities, feel responsibility, and are aware that any irresponsible conduct, any irresponsible or simply insufficiently thoughtful political or other step hampering the process would complicate its development. Furthermore, if there were any speculation on the problems and complexities which accompany these profound revolutionary processes, it would be disadvantageous for us all—Europeans and the whole world. We had quite a long and I think very profound and important discussion of this with President Francois Mitterrand.

Question from a West Berlin newspaper correspondent: I would like to put a question to President Gorbachev. And I ask President Mitterrand to also express his view on this question. Mr Gorbachev, during your visit to the FRG you gave rise to certain doubts on peoples' right to self-determination. Does this right belong exclusively to the people, as the term indicates, or to their leaders? And second, does this right give the German people the possibility of making a choice running counter to the interests of the four allied powers. I am referring to the reunification of Germany. Thank you.

F. Mitterrand: That is a big question, but I give Mr Gorbachev the opportunity to answer you.

M. Gorbachev: I believe that it is worth your while to continue relations with these four peoples. The way these relations have been lately has enabled people in Europe, including those in its center, where you live, to feel quite comfortable. Therefore I will ignore the provocative nuance in your question.

But to the point, no. I am firmly committed to the approach about which I spoke earlier. However, the changes and the attainment of a new level of international relations both in Europe and in the world will, of course, not take place in some kind of vacuum. Or in some kind of imaginary or specially created promised land. No, all this must happen in this sinful, real land where we all live, work, and intend to live together. And that means that we must be realists. Because if we called into question the existing realities and thus cast doubt on the entire Helsinki process and its continuation, the Vienna accords, thanks to which we have reached the current stage and intend to proceed further in the interests of all peoples, we would be doing something that we should not be doing. Much of what we have in Europe is the result of well known events. Incidentally, the initiators of these events with whose consequences we are all familiar lived in Berlin and started their work there. So that history has had its say. The world will change under our influence in an atmosphere of cooperation. And history itself will have its say on all questions within the framework of the "common European home" which we are all creating. Let us build that home. I invite you to take part in this.

F. Mitterrand: The question was also put to me. I would merely like to say that the desire for reunification is a legitimate desire for those who entertain it. Both here and there, in either part of Germany. But, as Mr Gorbachev has only just said, there is reality. There are two Germanies living in conditions in which their systems differ in every respect—economic, social, and political. They belong to different alliances and systems which exist within each of these states, sovereign states. Consequently this engenders many problems. I assume that all the German leaders would themselves hope that the process which they regard as desirable would take place in conditions of peace rather than become a factor of new tension. Finally, it is true that the Germans' choice is the decisive factor. You can easily picture how many problems will have to be solved. Therefore ! would not adopt a more incautious stance than that of the German leaders, although they are very patriotic. But it is impossible to recarve the history which took shape in the wake of World War II merely on the basis of aspirations, no matter how fine. In short, there can be no question of any rejection on principle, but on the other hand there is also the grim reality. And the countries which bear the responsibility now will continue to bear it. And so a great many talks will be needed.

Question from a THE WASHINGTON POST correspondent: My question is for Mr Gorbachev. This week we have seen "Solidarity" become an important component in Polish political life. Do you think it would be useful now to invite Lech Walesa or other "Solidarity" leaders to Moscow for talks? Would this promote stabilization? One more point: Although I realize that this is an internal matter, has General Jaruzelski—with whom you are so well acquainted—asked for your assessment of his decision not to run for the Polish presidency?

M.S. Gorbachev: As for the first part of the question, we maintain extensive ties with Poland, its people, and representatives of various political and sociocultural forces. These ties are developing, and more and more new people and representatives of new political institutions are becoming involved in them. That is why I see no obstacle to meetings within the framework of this developing process being possible with an organization which is recognized by the Polish people and which is actually part of the political process today—including in the Polish Sejm—and is also taking part in shaping the organs of a system which would accord with Poland's interests at this difficult stage in the development of Polish society and with the Polish people's hopes. That's the first point.

As for Comrade Jaruzelski.... You know, the situation there came about as follows: Many people in Poland were urging and strongly recommending that Gen Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, put himself forward as a candidate or at least consent to this being done. This question was thoroughly discussed by our Polish friends. It is their affair. And I think—insofar as I know Comrade Jaruzelski to be a great politician, a very responsible person, and a highly moral man—that he weighed everything before making his decision. I trust him and can add nothing to this.

Question from a French correspondent: My question is to both presidents. I would like to know whether your analyses of the situation in China coincide or not. And I would like to continue this question by asking you, Mr Gorbachev, if you think that there is currently a crisis of communism just as there was once talk of a crisis of capitalism.

F. Mitterrand: I will start, because part of the question is addressed to me, for which I thank you. I would reply immediately by saying that for most of the people here, including around this table, the events in China do not [as published] seem harmful for the movement which has allowed this country to open up to the outside world and embark on the path of indisputable democratization. This backward step is tragic. At any rate, that is my opinion. And I do not think that I differ with most of the people whom I have met over the past few months. But to come to the essential point—that is, whether communism is experiencing a crisis—then that is my opinion. But you did not ask me about this. I am not offended. I will give Mr Gorbachev a chance to answer himself.

M.S. Gorbachev: I see. I get the easiest questions. (laughter) With regard to China, I was asked quite a long question on this subject at a meeting at the Sorbonne today, and I tried to give quite a detailed reply. So I don't want to take up your time once again. Please look at my previous answer. I could only reaffirm it, perhaps in different words, but the idea would be the same.

As to the second part of the question... all generations—those who have passed away, those who are retiring from active life, those who today bear responsibility for the situation in certain countries, and those who are entering political life—have all heard a great many statements about crises of communism (the latter group perhaps least).

I would not agree with this. It is a question of a system of views which was not conceived in offices or academic circles, but emerged as the ideology of a class that entered the arena of social life—the working class. Attempts have been made to bury this ideology on the basis that the working class does not exist, it is not what it was, the middle strata are the most important, and so forth. But as soon as we come up against abrupt turning points, the working class shows its character and position. And all politicians in any state discover that the working class does exist. Just as organized and resolute as ever and, when necessary, able to defend its interests and its position. Since this working class is alive and well, its ideology is also alive and well. And, incidentally, the interests of this workers' movement and of the working class are reflected in both social democracy and the communist movement. These are two branches of the workers' movement.

As a Communist and as someone whose origins are among the working people I am very gratified that recent years have seen the development of very major and profound contacts between communist and social democratic parties. A new process started after 1914. It began then and still continues. I welcome it and am making every possible contribution to developing it, since ultimately it is the working class and the working people that are the basis of socialist and communist parties. Thus—and it would be right to think about renewal rather than a crisis of Marxism or communism—it should be a question of revealing the essential features of the two movements in the context of the current immense changes in the world, not least in countries headed by ruling communist parties, in the context, for instance, of what is happening in the Soviet Union.

If anyone thinks that we are abandoning our values, socialism, and the people's power, they are deluding themselves. Everyone should realize that. We make no secret of our position. No, we say openly that we want to give socialism its second wind through democratization and glasnost, through bringing people back into political and economic processes, and through overcoming people's alienation from property, power, and culture, making the social process more dynamic. This is what is happening.

But ahead of us are abrupt turning points. And they are accompanied by great debates. Naturally, some people see this as weakness and a crisis, or in general want to consign us to the scrapheap. And they already have done so several times in our history. This has all happened. But wishful thinking can only lead to self-delusion. Some members of the press can and do make a fuss. That is

their business. There are various kinds of press publications, but I would ask the serious press, which gets down to the crux of the processes taking place, to make use of my arguments.

Question from the French TV company TF-1: My question is for Mr President Gorbachev. This question somewhat continues the answer you have just given, since you have repeatedly reaffirmed your commitment to democratization, giving rise to many hopes among the Soviet intelligentsia within your country. On the eve of your departure for Paris the Writers Union recommended that the complete works of Solzhenitsyn be published, including "The Gulag Archipelago." I would like to know, Mr President Gorbachev, whether you approve of this decision and support it, and whether you are prepared to rehabilitate the writer Solzhenitsyn?

M.S. Gorbachev: I would answer the first part of your question as follows: I trust the opinion of the leaders of the Writers Union, and, clearly, this viewpoint of theirs deserves attention.

As for the second part of the question—rehabilitation—everything here is specific. Everything will proceed in a specific dimension.

Question from the QATARI NEWS AGENCY: Mine is a question for both presidents. In 1986 Paris and Moscow put forward the idea of holding an international conference on the Near East, and you have probably discussed this over the past 2 days. Can it be said that you have decided to take practical steps toward such a conference after 3 years of consultations and contacts with all interested parties? I would also like to know your opinion of the "Shamir plan." Do you think that this "plan" could promote the holding of an international conference or will it, on the contrary, complicate matters?

F. Mitterrand: On the first point, we did indeed discuss the situation in the Near and Middle East. We recalled our common desire to convene an international conference in accordance with the process which we outlined in 1986. Those are our actions. But convening a conference with the participation of the countries of the region and the permanent members of the Security Council needs the consent of everyone. And you are well aware that certain parties still refuse to give their consent. We will continue to press for our opinion to be heeded.

The second question—the "Shamir Plan." As you are well aware as well informed journalists, Mr Shamir does not agree to an international conference. So I think the answer is clear.

M.S. Gorbachev: I can agree with what the president said. But I would perhaps add a couple of words of my own with regard to the importance of the problem. We really believe that this is one of the oldest and most complex international, chronic, regional conflicts. It contains enormous dangers, not just for the region but for the whole world. And the fact that this problem was present in our discussions is further confirmation of that.

Mr President said—and this reflects our common understanding—that we should nonetheless seek ways of bringing an international conference about. This does not rule out the possibility of bilateral and trilateral talks and meetings within the framework of this process... As many meetings as you like. But the conference is still the main thing. And we hope that this idea will prosper. One way or another we are moving toward all parties being forced to recognize that this approach is reasonable. I would emphasize this. And it would be in the interests of all states involved in the conflict. It would also accord with Israel's security interests. What we are after would be in line with the interests of the whole world.

As for the "Shamir plan," I would go along with what Mr President said.

F. Mitterrand: So as not to return to these key problems concerning this part of the world, I would remind you that you have been given the text of the Soviet-French statement on Lebanon. This declaration proclaims our support for the efforts of the Arab League Tripartite Committee and the readiness of the Soviet Union and France to promote a peaceful settlement by all means—particularly the mission entrusted to the UN secretary general. I will read you the last four lines: "M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand are convinced that Lebanon should remain a sovereign, independent, united, and territorially integral state and an equal and active participant in the international community."

Question from a Radio France International correspondent: Is there anything new in the disarmament sphere after your talks?

F. Mitterrand: The entire wide range of disarmament issues is being discussed at direct talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. Conventional arms reductions concern other countries, particularly European countries, and, consequently, France. We have indeed discussed this. It cannot be said that we have added anything new, but we have reaffirmed our desire to reach agreement on conventional arms. We have partners. Some of them are not showing the same readiness, therefore it would be premature to answer your question. Talks continue, as you know.

Question: Since you're unhappy about not being asked enough questions, Mr President, this one's for you. My French colleagues and some Soviet specialists have recently been warning the French public about the danger of being seduced by restructuring and its initiator—Gorbachev, the seducer from Moscow. What is your opinion—has the Soviet delegation succeeded in seducing Paris, the Paris public, business circles, and the intelligentsia?

F. Mitterrand: You know that the press is free. You have heard assessments which you may not like. This happens to me every day. I'm used to it. In my opinion, this is the best way for democracy in France. Journalists will continue writing what they want. But it's better to be able to write and say what you want than not to be able to.

As for the Soviet delegation's behavior and the nature of our talks, I can say that everything was created for sympathies to be shown, and although I was not present at the Sorbonne, the foreign minister and minister of culture told me that, judging by everything, Mr Gorbachev's speech was well received and understood by the intelligentsia and the various French representatives who were there. It can be said that this trip has considerably promoted mutual understanding between our peoples.

Question from a correspondent for L'EXPRESS magazine: I'd like to ask Mr Gorbachev about himself. French people, Mr President, know you much better, but part of your life remains unknown to us. My question is this. We know that your mother is a believer. Were you baptized?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, I was. And I think it's normal. (laughter in the auditorium). Have I answered your question?

Question from a correspondent for the newspaper AL-SAFIR: You have just published a joint statement on Lebanon. This is very good, but I would like to know how your two countries intend to help the Arab League Tripartite Committee in its mission.

One other question for President Gorbachev. Did your envoy's mission to the Near East produce any good results—particularly in reinforcing the cease-fire in Lebanon?

F. Mitterrand: As for the first part of your question, I should tell you that the fact that the Soviet Union is using all its influence in this part of the world in order to establish peace and the unity and sovereignty of Lebanon is very important. The fact that the Arab representatives conducting the talks are also aware that this will help their mission to be fruitful. The same can also be said of France, which has special, privileged relations with Lebanon and all communities in that country.

As for the means, let us do some work. The main thing is to support the Arab League mission. This is our main task. We should not supplant those who are on the spot. We will look at the results they achieve. But we should not remain in the present situation. Perhaps Mr Gorbachev would like to add something.

M.S. Gorbachev: I agree with the President's ideas. This is in line with the spirit of our discussion on this matter. As for the second part of the question—the results of our representative's trip—you know that this is just part of our efforts. The comrade who went to Iraq and Syria—Comrade Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister—had instructions from the general secretary and chairman of the Supreme Soviet to discuss a number of specific questions. On returning to Moscow we will hear his detailed information. At any rate, you can be sure, as Mr President also said, that we sympathize with the Lebanese people and understand their tragic problems and their possibly serious consequences. That is why we will help to resolve the problem in the interests, above all, of the Lebanese people, and of other peoples too.

Question from a correspondent for Britain's DAILY EXPRESS newspaper: Mr Gorbachev, during your visit you talked about restructuring, glasnost, new thinking, and the common European home. What would happen to these concepts if, for whatever reason, you were incapable of pursuing them personally?

M.S. Gorbachev: I don't think these ideas owe their emergence to Gorbachev. Society in the European states and in the world as a whole has reached a turning point where the imperatives of the time excite everyone. If this had not been recognized in social and political circles and among the intelligentsia in various countries—essentially socialist countries—then little could have been done about it. But it was recognized. And the ideas that now take the form of new thinking were able to receive this support. That is why they have begun to be implemented in specific policies and in political and diplomatic steps. This process will continue, since people and the peoples realize the need for change.

But why are you worried? Do you have a report on my health or something? (laughter)

People in Britain do indeed sometimes write that Gorbachev's days are numbered. I read this, incidentally, in LE FIGARO. It wasn't news. LE FIGARO has been writing this for years. We know that. We know what each organ's aim is from what it writes.

F. Mitterrand: In any event our days are numbered. The point is that we don't know how many days we have left. It is plus or minus something—decide for yourselves.

Question from a correspondent from OGONEK magazine: Yesterday you and our president walked down the Champs Elysees, and millions saw the scene that evening. The two of you were walking alone. There were no diplomats or journalists with you. I think the whole world would like to know what you talked about together, if it's not too big a secret. This is a question to both presidents.

F. Mitterrand: It's very nice to end a press conference with a few jokes. Let's start by saying that we weren't walking down the Champs Elysees, so your information was wrong. We were walking through the Elysee Palace park. At the request of the photographers our interpreters were following 30 meters behind. Though we were 30 meters away from them, we understood each other,

although we said little. But even not knowing each other's language, it is possible to use a few words and sign language... Such a language exists. Thank you for your amusing question.

Question from a correspondent for the French TV company FR-3: My question is for President Gorbachev. You just mentioned the possibility of destabilizing movements in East Europe. What is your reaction? Do you think that this destabilizing movement is being encouraged by the United States? For instance, we don't know your reaction to U.S. President Bush's proposal that the Soviet Union withdraw all its troops from Poland.

M.S. Gorbachev: When I talked about possible manifestations of instability—and that was what I was talking about—I was proceeding on the basis that if you understand the complexity and depth of any changes you will understand that such manifestations are normal and natural. Let's remember the beginning, the first half of the seventies. There were then structural changes in the Western countries in connection with the oil crisis and other reasons. It was necessary to adapt to a new situation. And we recall how many millions of people were thrown out onto the street, and the battles that raged on the Ruhr, in British mines, and in other countries. These are elements of instability.

Then the capitalist system looked for answers to the challenge of the times. It adapted. And the fact that it has today achieved positive results from this adaptation is connected with a serious analysis of demands at that time and the quests that were carried out. Not everything turned up trumps for many entrepreneurs. Many hundreds of them were ruined. This all happened.

So then, changes are under way in the socialist countries. For instance, economic decentralization is under way. We in the Soviet Union are abandoning the administrative-edict system and switching to a system of enterprise based on economic autonomy and expanded rights for production collectives. In short, the democratization of economic life is under way along with the restructuring of property relations. New forms of economic organization based on leases, cooperatives, and much else besides are coming to the fore. Within the framework of the restructuring of all society all this contains certain dangers. And it is important that these processes do not get out of hand, as the saying goes.

One thing is disappearing, another thing has not yet arrived. This is what is happening in the Soviet Union. Hence there are many painful phenomena. If at such a time somebody wanted to speculate on these processes, to exploit them, and to make some destabilizing appeals, much less take some hasty steps it would have serious consequences for the entire situation. That is what I have in mind.

You said that we have not responded to Mr Bush's proposals. Well, above all, I think that Mr Bush still has to respond to all our proposals. We are still waiting. So the process is under way. But I would say that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue did not stop even when Mr Bush was entering office or during the first months of his administration. It continued in various forms. And I have long had personal contacts with Mr Bush. These are regularly maintained. We are trying to conduct matters in such a way that they resemble "propaganda moves" as little as possible. I once appealed to President Reagan to do likewise, particularly when attempts were made—and this happened in a number of cases—to teach us a lesson, admonish us, or make prosecutorial accusations. We rejected that out of hand. And ultimately a truly fruitful dialogue was organized which led us to the very interesting decisions of which you are aware. Now too we believe that it is not a question of scoring points or making propaganda moves. It is a question of really understanding that we are leaving the very complex "cold war" period, which was weighed down with stereotypes, distrust, accumulated arms, and confrontation. And all this has to be overcome. We need to be wise in order to do this. And we need to be very courageous.

That is why we are continuing this line. And I have heard from the U.S. President that his approaches to Soviet-U.S. relations will be based on continuity and, so to speak, the building up of capital. We share that formula and are cooperating. Perhaps our U.S. partners do not like everything we are doing. Nor can I say that we are overjoyed about everything Mr Bush's administration does. But this is not an obstacle to the dialogue, which continues. It is realistic. And I am sure that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue will continue. We all have an interest in that.

Mr Francois Mitterrand and I believe—and he said this today—that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue is a most important element in international relations. I would say this: It is impermissible for us—either the U.S. leadership or the Soviet leadership—to be lacking in responsibility. We must act in the interests of our two peoples, the European peoples, and the entire world. And we will discuss and resolve all specific issues. We are open. And the machinery has now been switched on and is starting to work. The time when the Bush administration was feeling its way is now over too. I think this process will now operate along normal lines. Thank you all.

More on Gorbachev Meeting With Council of Europe

PM1007135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading: "All-European Process Is Advancing. M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to Council of Europe"]

[Text] Strasbourg, 6 Jul—Meetings were held between M.S. Gorbachev and A. Bjoerck, members of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers Bureau and also with Mrs C. Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council.

A dinner was given in honor of the Soviet head of state on behalf of the leadership of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly and Committee of Ministers. The following delivered speeches at the dinner: A. Bjoerck, chairman of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly; T. Stoltenberg, chairman of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers; and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Speech by A. Bjoerck

Mr Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet!

Your speech at the plenary session of the Parliamentary Assembly marks the first step toward the new and fruitful development of interparliamentary and intergovernmental cooperation in Europe. Together we will be able to contribute to further strengthening stability on our continent.

Let me take this opportunity to ask you, Mr President, to accept an order of high distinction conferred by our Assembly. It is a particular honor for me to award you the Assembly's "Pro Merito" ("For Merit") medal. Other heads of state who have spoken at the Assembly have been awarded this medal, but you are the first head of a state that is not a member of our organization to be awarded the medal. I present it to you in token of our appreciation of your great efforts to create our common European home.

Speech by T. Stoltenberg

Mr President!

Your historic visit should be regarded as a result of the reforms in your country, which became possible as a result of your policy of glasnost, restructuring, and the new approach to relations in Europe and throughout the world. We welcome this policy, which, we firmly hope, will continue to lead to greater openness, democracy, and the defense of human rights.

At the same time this constitutes a specific response to our policy of openness and readiness to initiate dialogue and relations of cooperation with European countries that are not members of our organization.

The challenge to our countries does not necessarily stem from the other side of the border. It increasingly disregards all borders. I am referring to problems of the environment, the economy, poverty, and technology.

The serious nature of these challenges compels us to join forces and requires cooperation rather than confrontation between states.

The Council of Europe is prepared to help overcome the division of our continent and play its role in this new situation.

Speech by M.S. Gorbachev

Esteemed Mr Chairmen!
Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen!

Thank you once again for your invitation to speak at one of the universally recognized centers of European politics. I gratefully accept the Assembly's commemorative medal. It is a symbol and pledge of our incipient cooperation. The problems which the Council of Europe is tackling—culture, education, social development, democracy, human rights, the environment, and medicine—recognize no borders. The Council can, obviously, play a special, unique role in organizing ties between East and West Europe in order to preserve and advance European civilization to a contemporary level. Our parliamentary ties with the Assembly are now real. In the course of my meetings with the Committee of Ministers other opportunities for our cooperation also emerged. We are ready for that. We are ready to implement in practice any constructive ideas within the framework of the all-European process. I think that this will simultaneously help us and you to more rapidly rid ourselves of the burden of stereotypes and prejudices inherited from the past.

We are leaving Strasbourg with the conviction that an important step has been taken in organizing our cooperation in the interests of all Europe. We have taken away with us from our conversations here a sense of interest in the development of systematic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

I want to assure you that this interest is mutual. Everything that has happened today and everything that we discussed here has yet to be analyzed. But it is already clear that our visit to France was also a visit to Europe. Yet another very important channel for East-West rapprochement has opened up.

Once again let me thank everyone who took part in preparing and implementing my visit to you in Strasbourg for the warm, and friendly reception. Till we meet again!

A TASS correspondent at the Council of Europe Press Center was told that 400 million inhabitants of the European continent were able to see a live television report from Strasbourg and gain a clear picture of the real edifice of the peaceful Europe whose appearance the Soviet leader described so convincingly and clearly in his address to the European Parliament. The townspeople came out onto the streets in order to wish him success and bon voyage.

In the evening the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet was seen off at the airport by A. Bjoerck, president of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly; Strasbourg's Mayor C. Trotmann, and Entzheim's Mayor F. Debs [name as transliterated]. The members of the party accompanying him on his trip also left Strasbourg: E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee

Politburo and USSR foreign minister; A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials.

The Il-62 airliner set a course for Bucharest.

Yakovlev, French Socialist Mauroy Hold Talks
PM1007142789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Constructive Dialogue"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with P. Mauroy, first secretary of the French Socialist Party and former French premier on 5 July in Paris.

The talk focused on questions of security and disarmament, as well as the development of contacts and dialogue between the CPSU and the French Socialist Party. The Soviet side noted in particular that the concept and practice of "nuclear deterrence" is not just a source of danger and distrust, but is also objectively turning in our time into an incentive for nuclear weapons to proliferate worldwide. Both sides stressed the importance which would attach to success at the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe, the achievement of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on 50-percent cuts in their strategic arsenals, and the ensuring of the nonmilitarization of space.

V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, took part in the meeting.

Further Gorbachev, Yakovlev Remarks on France Visit
PM1007155789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA special correspondents V. Bolshakov and V. Drobkov dispatch: "Foundation of the Common Home"]

[Excerpts] Paris-Strasbourg, 6 Jul—[Passage omitted] ...After M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the Sorbonne we asked A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to share his impressions of how people here in Paris are reacting to our concept of a common European home.

"The emergence of consensus among different political forces," he said, "as shown by M.S. Gorbachev's speech here at the Sorbonne, the center of the European intellectual elite, and the reaction to that speech illustrate Europeans' growing understanding of the essence and depth of the whole background to and foundations of the emerging unanimity. This is advantageous and beneficial for everyone. Intellectual and humane principles are embodied in the approach to building a common European home on the basis of universal consensus and of including all forces in the general process rather than pushing anyone aside and excluding them. It is time for Europe to switch to a normal existence after centuries of incessant hostility and all manner of conflicts, misunderstandings, and threats.

"That is not so simple, if you analyze it. I spoke about this recently both in Bonn and in Italy. We are at a kind of transitional period of the 'end of wars.' The inevitability of war has disappeared. But the state of war still exists in people's mentality. For we are all still 'fighting' and have not overcome the feeling that we are surrounded by enemies, and so we sometimes seek arguments instead of peace. That is the inevitable result of long confrontation. A transition is now being made toward relations with a qualitatively new substance, relations based not on coexistence but on a quite different mode of existence. This is a very profound and significant process designed for the immediate historically foreseeable future." [passage omitted]

When the Soviet delegation was leaving the Palais de l'Europe, PRAVDA's correspondent asked M.S. Gorbachev how he views the atmosphere of his meetings in Strasbourg and throughout his visit to France.

"A good atmosphere," M.S. Gorbachev replied. "That is what I would put in the forefront. The atmosphere of the visit has been very friendly in France. But on the eve of the visit I saw the press and the forecasts—we were promised a cool atmosphere. But I always believe in people's common sense, and there's no denying that the French, of all people, possess that. They have displayed common sense in embarking on openness, broad contacts, and the meetings held over these last few days. This could also be sensed during the meetings with Raisa Maksimovna, which were more private. All this showed that people are responding to what is happening in relations between our countries."

"There has just been a wonderful meeting near the city cathedral," R.M. Gorbacheva said. "People filled the square. I thanked them for their attitude toward the Soviet people and toward the policy which our country is implementing today."

"So I would put the atmosphere first because it reflects the sentiments in broad public circles," M.S. Gorbachev noted. "This is what the people want to say and convey to politicians and everyone, including the press."

French Minister Dumas, Media Hail Gorbachev Visit
PM1007150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev and TASS report under the general heading "New Perspectives"]

[Excerpt] The foreign mass media have been publishing numerous articles devoted to the end of the visit to France by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the

CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Many statesmen and politicians have been assessing the results of the visit. It is being noted that Soviet-French relations have now been raised to another level. Particular attention is being devoted to the Soviet peace initiatives advanced in Strasbourg.

Paris, 7 Jul—French Foreign Minister R. Dumas has called M.S. Gorbachev's Strasbourg speech "important." In a statement to AFP he noted that the Soviet leader put forward a number of specific proposals. France, he said, will study them carefully. The minister noted that in Strasbourg the Soviet leader helped to flesh out his concept of a common European home, which "largely corresponds to the main aims of the Helsinki process." "M.S. Gorbachev is setting targets for the process of East-West rapprochement which we support. His speech is a great step toward meeting West Europe halfway," R. Dumas stressed.

"The Soviet head of state's visit to Paris, his talks with the French president, and the agreements that were signed are all steps in the right direction," L'HUMANITE, the organ of French Communists, writes. "Bilateral cooperation has moved forward, and this is good for both sides."

"A positive result!" exclaims LE PARISIEN. "The Soviet leader preferred working with his French interlocutors quietly and without publicity—that is, more effectively." The friendly relations that have been strengthened between the heads of both states, the newspaper believes, have made it possible to achieve progress in the diplomatic, political, cultural, and economic spheres.

French TV's fifth channel points out that the Strasbourg speech was "M.S. Gorbachev's most important speech during his stay on French soil." The "diplomatic result of his trip," a commentator on the channel noted, "is that the Soviet leader set a clear goal of achieving a time when nuclear weapons will have disappeared from the continent of Europe." [passage omitted]

Article by France's Dumas on Gorbachev Visit

18070679 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by Roland Dumas, French minister of state and minister of foreign affairs: "We Welcome our Important Guest from Moscow!"]

[Text] **M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to France and his negotiations with President Francois Mitterrand were an exceptionally important event in the relations between the two countries. The timing of the visit was remarkable. Shortly before the high-level meeting of the seven largest countries of Europe and the celebration of the bicentennial of the great French Revolution as well as a transitional period in East-West relations. During the course of the negotiations they will summarize the results of the course of the program of action agreed upon in November last year during the French president's trip to the USSR and will invigorate our bilateral relations in all areas.**

The Soviet Union has begun to implement a large-scale program of reforms in many areas: political, economic, juridical, administrative, cultural, and so forth. In this respect the political and structural reform is one of the basic elements of restructuring. The organization of freer elections than in the past and the greater role of the USSR Supreme Soviet show the efforts that are being made for democratization. Essential changes, which we have welcomed, have already taken place in the sociopolitical sphere. France is following with attention and sympathy this evolution which could exert the most positive influence on the entire totality of our relations with the Soviet Union. These relations are now going through a period of rapid invigoration.

Restructuring in the USSR is, naturally, a lengthy process. There are significant difficulties on its path, particularly on an economic plane. Obviously, the solution to these problems depends primarily on the Soviet people themselves, but the development of cooperation with Western countries is also significant for the success of restructuring. France is prepared to contribute to the transformations taking place in the USSR, and to do this to deepen cooperation with the Soviet Union in all areas. This is shown by the fact that during the last 2 years we have doubled the amount of credit allotted for the expansion of cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation and the creation of 20 joint Soviet-French companies. (In addition about 60 plans like this are being studied.) We are prepared to go further, particularly in the matter of training Soviet personnel in France. We assess prospects for the development of economic cooperation between the two countries with reasonable optimism. Soviet-French exchanges should increase and become increasingly diverse. In many sectors—for example, I think of light industry—the Soviet Union is still not adequately taking advantage of the possibilities of French industry. The high-level meeting will become a fundamental stage in the development of economic relations between our countries.

Soviet-French relations have always been of immense significance, taking into account the long tradition, the importance of the USSR in Europe and throughout the world, and also the special role France has taken on in the international scene, remaining independent in the area of security and at the same time being a member of NATO. The USSR and France are located at the two extremes of Europe and at the same time are the only continental nuclear powers and permanent members of the UN Security Council here. This places special responsibility on them. All this clearly shows what primary partners our two countries are for one another. Consolidation of their cooperation in all areas, which will be confirmed during the course of the forthcoming meeting of the heads of state of the USSR and France, will produce a new impetus for building a more reliable and just peace.

UK Tornado Base Linked to Tactical Modernization

PM0507132989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin "Pertinent Remarks": "When Other Opinions Are Ignored"]

[Text] The public could not have failed to notice the recent news report about the commissioning of a major air force base for multipurpose "Tornado" aircraft in Leeming (Britain). It is not only a matter of the scale on which construction work was carried out there—a sum of 134 million pounds sterling was spent. But this is probably not the main point at issue.

The point at issue is the special role which the "Tornado" aircraft will probably start performing in the very near future by becoming delivery vehicles for the latest cruise missiles being developed under a bilateral agreement between Washington and London, kept secret until recently. This agreement, according to Western press claims, was signed early this year and can be perceived as a tactical maneuver designed to bypass the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which is now being implemented, and to present the remaining NATO members with the fait accompli of a modernization of tactical nuclear weapons that is already under way.

The world public is thus witnessing the affirmation of a highly dangerous trend. New and more sophisticated nuclear weapons systems will appear in place of the ones being destroyed. And the results of diplomatic marathons, which the world follows with hope, will be simply reduced to zero.

Moreover, opinions like the following are circulating: If the USSR really wishes to curb the pace of the arms race, it must unilaterally reduce its nuclear and conventional military potentials. The sincerity of the belief of the authors of such statements in the existence of a Soviet threat to the West is doubtful. Something else can be perceived here—an unwillingness by certain circles to abandon their selfish interests in favor of universal security, unwillingness to take into account a different opinion which, let us note, reflects the aspirations of most Europeans.

In this context it would be appropriate to cite a recent concerned speech by H.-D. Genscher, leader of the West German foreign policy department, who called for constructive East-West dialogue and indicated the "impermissibility of compensating for disarmament measures in one sphere by an arms buildup in another."

One would think that the pursuit of precisely such a principled line could ultimately lead to an easing of military tension in the continent and in the world as a whole.

'Toxic' Waste Unloaded From FRG Ship in Black Sea

PM0707103389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 6

[R. Ignatyev report under the rubric "Epilogue to the Event": "Ship in Exile Leaves Black Sea"]

[Text] REUTER reported that, according to Turkish official authorities, the West German ship the "Petersberg," which was wandering the Black Sea for more than a year, left Istanbul Monday....

IZVESTIYA carried reports on the ship in exile in Nos. 69, 70, 71, 75, 78, and 177. For many months it was in the neutral waters of the Black Sea not far from the Soviet island of Zmeinyy. The Izmail branch of the Glavinflot [expansion unknown] provided the ship with everything necessary: food and water.

"So that the West German ship could pass freely through the territorial waters of other countries and return to its native port through shallow waters, we made the decision to transfer the industrial waste it was carrying onto a barge," V. Kostin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment and USSR main state inspector for environmental protection, said. "But first of all our specialists and Austrian specialists analyzed the freight. No radioactive substances were detected. The only thing we did find was a relatively high content of lead, zinc, and other heavy metals. So the freight did not pose any danger. However, people living in our Black Sea cities protested. The public did not allow the waste to be handled in either Ust-Dunaysk or Reni. So the operation had to be carried out at sea, between the ports of Izmail and Reni, on neutral territory, so to speak."

"The process of transferring the waste from the 'Petersberg' to a West German barge was carried out by dockers from the Danube Shipping Company," V. Kornilov, chief of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet Foreign Relations Administration, said. "Despite the fact that the waste was harmless, special safety regulations were observed during the transfer process. The waste was first placed inside containers and only then transferred to the barge. Nothing fell into the sea.

But at the last moment, when the operation had been completed, the captain of the West German tug refused to pull the barge. New negotiations began. Frightened by rumors, the navigator demanded three radiation protection suits and gas masks. These items were duly given to him. Only then did the barge set off up the Danube, on course for Austria. Thus the freight is returning whence it came. I must say that this is the first such case in this region. There must be close cooperation between all maritime countries so that such incidents are not repeated. But at present there are no guarantees that another ship in exile will not turn up somewhere."

So the "Petersberg" has finally left the Black Sea. It is making for the Greek port of Piraeus for repairs.

Results of Madrid EEC Summit Summarized

PM2906090189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[Valeriy Volkov dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Compromises and Realism"]

[Text] Madrid, 27 Jun—The meeting of EEC heads of state and government in Madrid is over. And although, as a result of their differences, its participants were unable to achieve any tangible results on the most important questions on the agenda, the final document that was adopted notes that the current session of the European Council was an "important stage on the road of shaping economic and monetary union for the EC and working out approaches to the adoption of a charter of basic social rights."

Decoding this rather vague formula, Spanish Premier Felipe Gonzalez and Jacques Delors, chairman of the EC Commission, reported at the final press conference that the participants had managed to reach a certain compromise, which envisages approval by the EEC states' leaders for the first stage of the formation of monetary and economic union. Starting 1 July 1990 it is planned to ensure the free flow of capital within the EEC and the entry of Britain, Greece, and Portugal into the European Monetary System. As for the creation of a European central bank and the introduction of a single European currency, these points of the Delors plan have been postponed for the time being because of the intractable position adopted by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher and the special opinions expressed by the representatives of the Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, and Greece. The attempt by the Spanish premier to win the adoption of a charter on basic social rights for working people in the EEC countries also failed.

Summarizing the results of the Madrid summit and analyzing the adopted final document, local observers are concentrating above all on the further deepening of the process of European integration not only on economic but on political issues. The high assessment of the EC's activities made by FRG Chancellor Kohl, French President F. Mitterrand, and other EC leaders shows that the "European Twelve" intend to continue to play a dominant role in resolving not just economic but political problems. The prospects for the EC's development are quite hopeful, in the opinion of observers.

The international section of the final document notes the successes achieved by the EEC countries on the question of establishing closer links with the states of East Europe and in achieving trade and economic agreements.

Summarizing the results of the summit, it should be noted that the realist position adhered to many EC members on the question of expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries should probably be further developed, since it is part of the overall process of detente and of establishing an atmosphere of mutual trust on the all-European continent.

Decision on Mideast Talks Praised

LD2906095789 Moscow TASS in English 0935 GMT 29 Jun 89

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 29 TASS—The decision of the European Council of the communities session at the level of the heads of state and government, held in Madrid, regarding the need for the participation of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation in a U.N.-sponsored international conference on the Middle East is a fundamentally new step which introduces clarity in the European Communities' stance on an important aspect of the Arab-Israeli settlement.

In the Soviet diplomatic circles they consider that this decision demonstrates increasing constructiveness and realisation of the role which the European communities can play in defusing the most long-standing and potentially dangerous regional conflicts.

The decision of the Madrid session matches the magnitude and spirit of positive changes which make their way in the Middle Eastern affairs lately. This is, above all, a new realistic and constructive course of a peaceful political settlement embarked upon by the PLO and enjoying Arabs' support, the resumption of the United States' dialogue with this organisation, and the intensification of Palestinian-European contacts.

The decision of the Madrid summit meeting opens new favourable opportunities for interaction and coordination of efforts between the Soviet Union and Western Europe, and also within the framework of the international community as a whole in the cause of the Middle Eastern settlement.

Latin America & Caribbean

Costa Rican Aide's USSR Visit Summarized

PM0707093989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Political Consultations"]

[Text] Costa Rican Deputy Foreign Minister C. Rivera Bianchini was in the Soviet Union on 21-28 June, visiting our country as special representative of President O. Arias for an exchange of opinions on international problems and questions of bilateral relations of mutual interest.

C. Rivera was received by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister.

He also had a conversation with V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, which confirmed the proximity of the two countries' positions on the majority of problems touched upon. When discussing the situation in Central America, the sides agreed that countries in the region and the world community as a whole must increase their efforts to promote a political settlement on the basis of the Guatemala and El Salvador accords reached by the presidents of the Central American states.

Soviet-Costa Rican political consultations were held in the appropriate administrations of the USSR Foreign Ministry on the main international problems that will be discussed at the forthcoming 44th session of the UN General Assembly, including the ensuring of peace and security, disarmament, economic relations between states, human rights, a Central American settlement, and also questions of bilateral relations between the USSR and Costa Rica. The participants in the consultations expressed their mutual belief in the need to consolidate the positive practice of Soviet-Costa Rican exchanges of opinion on topical international issues. They noted with satisfaction the level of bilateral relations now reached and expressed their common interest in developing these relations further.

The special representative of the Costa Rican president visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum.

C. Rivera also visited Tallinn, where he was received by M.K. Leosk, deputy chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, and had a detailed conversation with Estonian Foreign Minister A.K. Gren. The Costa Rican representative was briefed on the republic's achievements in various spheres and the progress of perestroyka in Estonia.

The guest from Costa Rica saw the sights of Moscow and addressed a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists on the results of his visit to the Soviet Union.

Lima Bombers Could Have Been Left or Right

PM1107091589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Mexico City correspondent A. Cherepanov: "Our Seamen Are Out of Danger"]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA has already reported, on 5 July at 1000 hours local [Peru] time, a bus with Soviet seamen on board was blown up by a bomb. As a result of the explosion 20 people were injured, of whom 17 were hospitalized, 3 of them in serious condition.

Our Mexico City correspondent A. Cherepanov called embassy and Ministry of the Fishing Industry representatives in Lima. Here are the additional details he managed to obtain: On the morning of 5 July a group of 52 people in two buses visited the "Albatros" store, as is the custom among off-duty crews from Soviet fishing vessels working in Peruvian coastal waters. The explosion occurred on one of the buses as it was about to leave.

Fortunately, the bomb was homemade and not that powerful. And it had obviously been hastily planted (according to witnesses, four suspicious characters had been hanging around the bus). The passengers were injured mainly by pieces of broken glass.

The police and emergency services were on the scene immediately. Nearly all the casualties were immediately hospitalized. It is true that at first there was a mixup in the hospital over Russian names—it took the doctors a while to work out which photograph belonged to whom. Representatives of the Soviet embassy and consulate came to their aid. On the same day skilled operations were carried out on all those who required them. The IZVESTIYA correspondent was officially informed that the seriously injured Soviet seamen were out of danger. Their families had been informed.

The Peruvian press believes that the terrorist act carried out against Soviet citizens was the work of the Maoist-inclined leftist armed grouping "Sendero Luminoso." But there is another version: It might have been carried out by ultrarightists opposing the fishing agreements signed between Peru and the USSR.

Peru's 'Sendero Luminoso' Accused

PM1107092389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by V. Zaykin under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "Explosion in Peruvian Port"]

[Text] Thirty-three Soviet seamen have been injured in the Peruvian port of Callao as a result of an explosion caused by a bomb planted under a bus standing in the street.

Our correspondent telephoned the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry and asked for information on the incident.

"It happened on 5 July at 1010 hours local time," S. Svinarenko, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry Foreign Relations Administration Department, said. "Sixteen seamen had to be hospitalized. Fortunately, no one was seriously hurt. The seamen mainly suffered fractures, cuts, and burns. The victims were members of the crews of two large, autonomous trawlers—the 'Vladimir Kurasov' and the 'Lazurnyy'—who were on shore leave that day.

"Our seamen are working in this region on the basis of an agreement on cooperation between Peru and the Soviet Union. We assist the Peruvians in the development of their fishing industry, get our ships repaired in local ports, and fish within a 200-mile zone of that country...."

REUTER and AFP have reported that, in the opinion of the Callao police, the explosion was organized by the "Sendero Luminoso," a rebel group of Maoist persuasion. "There is absolutely no doubt that this act, which deserves to be condemned, was directed against totally innocent citizens," Peruvian Foreign Minister Guillermo Larco Cox said.

The Soviet seamen were on a bus which had stopped at a store when the bomb, planted under an empty bus standing nearby, was detonated.

According to eye witnesses, four young people wearing school uniform were seen at the scene of the incident a few moments before the explosion, placing a package under the bus.

Our Information

"Sendero Luminoso" is an extreme left-wing rebel organization waging a guerrilla war against the Peruvian government.

"Sendero Luminoso" has been in existence for more than 20 years. It began its armed struggle in 1980. Since then, Peru has known no peace. Reports of murders and acts of sabotage committed by this organization are appearing with increasing frequency in the world press. The terrorists' victims are politicians, members of the police force, soldiers, peasants.... The terrorists often involve juveniles in their acts of sabotage.

The Peruvian government has been forced to rely more and more extensively on the armed forces in the struggle against this terrorist organization. But so far this has failed to produce tangible results.

Panama Situation, U.S. Policy Viewed

PM2906135389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Zafesov "Viewpoint": "Panamanian Knot"]

[Text] The situation both in Panama itself and around it is increasing in complexity. Outwardly, events appear to be developing in connection with the elections held in that country approximately 2 months ago and whose results were annulled.

I would not like to interfere in the polemic on this topic. Not just because of the conflicting nature of the opposing sides' arguments and the facts cited by them but, primarily, because the election issue is a strictly internal matter for Panama. I believe that the Panamanians alone have the right to judge what is happening in their country's political arena and how it is happening and to adopt a particular decision. It is also true, however, that the elections that took place or, rather, the annulment of their results have already gone beyond the bounds of a national conflict. An OAS special commission has long been tackling this problem. The commission's official purpose is to formulate recommendations for regularizing the situation in Panama. The OAS commission is meeting with representatives of various political and public forces, but the public has not yet had any reports on the progress of these meetings. Neither local nor foreign journalists are admitted to these meetings, and news conferences are not held. This is a brief outline of the present situation in Panama.

I will venture to remark that, in my opinion, it is difficult even for a most authoritative commission, even an international one, to understand in detail the internal political stratagems of another country. I must also mention the fact that the United States carries considerable weight, to put it mildly, within the OAS and at times makes very shameless use of its influence. At any rate, Panamanian Foreign Minister J. Ritter recently condemned scathingly U.S. President Bush's attempts to impose on the OAS his viewpoint on the events taking place in Panama.

It is here that we are approaching the heart of the problem, whose essence U.S. politicians try to veil behind various kinds of arguments about democracy, human rights, morality, and so forth. A natural question arises: Why is the United States showing such "concern" for Panama? And what difference does it make to Washington in favor of which political forces the balance is tipping there? And, finally, is this concern for the observance of democracy, or does a very prosaic, mercenary interest lie behind it?

I will venture to claim the latter. The point is that the United States is interested in preserving its positions in Panama and, above all, in the Panama Canal Zone. You do not have to be a strategist to realize the tremendous significance of the canal linking the Atlantic and the Pacific. It is known that U.S. military bases remain in Panama. For Washington the bases and the canal represent an indivisible whole, with which it is reluctant to part on any account.

The U.S.-Panama treaty provides for the Panama Canal to pass to Panama's full jurisdiction by the year 2000. By all accounts, Washington has a very painful perception of that prospect. This document also provides that only national—that is, Panamanian—armed forces and military installations will remain on the country's territory. It clearly follows from the activeness that the United States has developed around Panama that this prospect suits neither the Pentagon, nor the State Department, nor the White House.

When something does not suit Washington, it does not particularly stand on ceremony, although in the changed international climate it does have to take note of the world community's opinion. Incidentally, the old arsenal is always on hand: It includes funding opposition to the legitimate government, overt interference with the help of the CIA, economic sanctions, and, of course, political pressure.

I am convinced that such a U.S. stand only helps to tighten the Panamanian knot, but the times now are such that, regardless of the region, knots must not be tangled but loosened. Or, still better, undone altogether. Of course, this is possible only given goodwill and the sincere desire to improve the international atmosphere. Of course, it is difficult sometimes to abandon old stereotypes and the habit, let us say, of looking on Latin America as your own backyard. It is difficult, but sooner or later Washington will have to do this. If, of course, the U.S. leaders have the desire to pursue a foreign policy course with due regard for the reality that is taking shape.

Political & Social

Radio Urges Calm Over 'Groundless' Earthquake News

NC1107092589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0859 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Attention! Dear citizens, no official press release or announcement has been made concerning the earthquake. We ask you not to panic or to heed groundless news being circulated.

11 Jul Supreme Soviet Session Reported

Lukyanov Chairs Session

LD0707064189 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—by TASS parliamentary correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

The Soviet Parliament, which resumed cabinet hearings this morning, will probably complete its debates on the composition of the Council of Ministers today.

The list of candidates to ministerial positions comprises four men, slated for the jobs of ministers of justice, communications, trade and power engineering.

That in no way means the completion of the formation of the government. The parliament is yet to discuss candidates to the posts of chairmen of state committees, thirteen all in all.

Besides, there are 12 vacancies in the government that are yet to be filled.

The parliament's sitting today is chaired by First Vice-President of the Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Pervyshin Elected Communications Minister

LD1107092589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] At today's joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities in the Kremlin, the USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing to form the Soviet Government. Comrade Pervyshin was proposed for the post of the country's minister of communications. Deputies Kolesnikov, Palayev, Krutov, and others spoke in the debate. USSR People's Deputy Comrade Krutov emphasized that the Ministry of Communications is the material and technical base of glasnost. Our television and radio, however, are not up to world standards. The second television channel is unavailable to many inhabitants of the country—they neither saw nor heard the broadcasts on the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Forty percent of the population live in areas where Mayak cannot be received. Television and radio issues are tackled according to the residual principle. In the highly developed countries attention is now focussed on high definition television systems; it is essential for us to select the one which will be best for the country and will meet people's requirements. The deputy said that the Supreme Soviet should monitor this problem.

Deputies then voted in favor of Comrade Pervyshin's nomination, and he was appointed USSR minister of communications.

The session is currently debating the candidate for the post of USSR minister of trade; it was proposed that Comrade Terekh be appointed.

Trade Minister's Candidacy Discussed

LD1107102489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 11 July broadcasts a 4-minute report from the Kremlin during a break in the Supreme Soviet proceedings in which correspondent Marina Novitskaya notes that Erlen Kirikovich Pervyshin was appointed USSR minister of communications, and that Kondrat Zigmundovich Terekh's candidacy for minister of trade is under dicussion. Novitskaya points out that the new Ministry of Communications subsumed the former Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry. "In my view the deputies expressed a well-founded fear that the producer might suppress the consumer, as happened recently with the agro-industrial complex."

Continuing her report, she says that there were also complaints about the poor state of the country's communications. "This figure was cited by the minister himself: 15 million people are presently waiting for a telephone to be installed in their home. When will it be possible to help them? Some of them—over 4 million—will be helped in the coming 18 months, and the rest only by the end of the 5-Year Plan."

Deputy Pallayev from Tajikistan said that there were oblasts in his republic—some of them with a population of 1 million—which was unable to watch relays of the Congress and Supreme Soviet. Moreover, there were many places where republican television is not received.

"Our colleague, "Vremya" commentator Aleksandr Krutov, added to these data," Novitskaya reports. "He believes that communications represent the provision of glasnost, and that glasnost is the instrument of people's power. Other deputies dealt with the problem in even greater depth. The communications and information systems had a political significance, too. It was suggested that a national program for the development of communications should be drawn up in the form of legislation."

Pervyshin was appointed, but the decision on Terekh's candidacy for minister of trade is still to be made Novitskaya notes: "To be honest, it hasn't been easy for the candidate for the post of minister of trade. We are all shoppers, and each of us here has, unfortunately, sad

experiences. Terekh said bluntly that he headed the last prestigious industry. Unfortunately, the deputies do not believe that the candidate for the post of minister has presented a sensible program. However, they believe, nevertheless, that in conditions of deficits he must be trusted."

More Reportage on 10 Jul Supreme Soviet Session

Report on Discussion of Chazov

LD1007124689 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent

The USSR Supreme Soviet has resumed the consideration of nominees for the posts of ministers and chairmen of state committees today. The suspension in the discussion was caused by the fact that Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, who presented his cabinet to Parliament, departed for Bucharest late last week for the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Only two ministers were approved this morning: Vadim Bakatin, 52,—interior minister (discussion on his nomination was given in a separate report) and Yevgeniy Chazov, 60,—public health minister.

Academician Chazov is well known both as a prominent cardiologist and eminent public figure. (He is a co-founder of the movement International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.) Setting out the programme of the ministry's activities, he said that his main task is to pull the public health system out of a deep crisis caused by inadequate financing of this important social sphere over the past few decades. Soviet spending for public health now amounts to 3.2 per cent of the GNP as against 6-8 per cent in other developed countries.

The Nominee, who has held the post of public health minister since 1987, favoured decentralisation of the management of medical services and expansion of the rights of republics and regions. The candidate named mother and child health protection, a higher quality of medical services in the countryside and a shortage of medicines and medical equipment among priority areas.

Speaking of AIDS in the USSR, Chazov said that there were 14 sufferers and 271 virus-carriers in the country by the end of May 1989. Nearly 33 million people have undergone medical checkups for AIDS.

Asked about "abuses in psychotherapy", the candidate reminded deputies of new legislation in this sphere, precluding the detention of healthy people in lunatic asylums. Mental hospitals which were the responsibility of the Interior Ministry, were handed over to the public health system. He pointed out at the same time that speculation on these problems continue. The incumbent minister said that foreign delegations which raised this question could not name one person kept in a hospital for political reasons.

Noting that Chazov inherited a heavy burden, many deputies pointed to the considered and concrete nature of his programme. The Soviet Parliament approved Chazov USSR public health minister by a majority vote.

The consideration of nominees for the Soviet cabinet will continue at the afternoon sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Bakatin Confirmed Interior Minister

LD1007121289 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent: The discussion of the candidacy of Vadim Bakatin to the post of interior minister in the new Soviet Cabinet has outgrown into a substantive talk on the crime rate in the USSR and ways to combat it.

Hearings on the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers resumed today.

The energetic 52-year-old party worker, who took over as interior minister eight months ago without adequate experience in this sphere, has gained good recommendations over the short period of time, and was appointed to the important post once again. The candidate's clear stance, his desire to make the crime level turn downward and, certainly, honesty with which Bakatin spoke about the fast rise in the crime rate in the country have appealed to the deputies.

Just like finances, which reflect in a concentrated form the state of the country's economy, crime reflects the current processes in society, he believes. Unbalanced development in the economy, politics, social and moral spheres is inevitable in the transitional period through which Soviet society is going, which, in turn, provokes tension, shortages, social injustice and thus stimulates crime.

The candidate bluntly said that it would be irresponsible to promise a fall in crime. Experts predict that in 1990-1991 it will be possible at best to bring down the crime rate and not more.

Bakatin called attention to the alarming changes in the structure of killings: if earlier there prevailed mostly the so-called domestic violence (more commonly drunken brawls), killings on selfish motives now account for 60 per cent of them. Juvenile delinquency is rising at a rapid pace: 22 per cent up in the first half of 1989.

Analysing in detail the difficulties experienced by interior ministry bodies, Bakatin underscored the lack of legal protection [words indistinct] standard of equipment, a plethora of banning instructions, and low wage scales. He drew the following comparison: per capita and in the USSR—eight roubles. Even under the official rate, which does not reflect the rouble's real purchasing power, this is glaring discrepancy.

The Interior Ministry is actually a "stepson", higher authorities pay little attention to it, Bakatin said. He favoured the creation at the USSR Supreme Soviet or its president of a committee on public safety to coordinate efforts to combat breaches of law.

In the debates members of the Supreme Soviet supported the candidacy of Bakatin. Seven deputies out of 414 present at the morning session voted against him and 28 abstained.

Busygin Rejected as Minister

LD1007135389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1329 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jul (TASS) - TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Today the USSR Supreme Soviet turned down another candidate for a ministerial post—Mikhail Busygin, 58, who had been heading the Ministry of Timber Industry since 1982 and was again recommended for the office.

Deputies criticized him for the reduction of forests, the disregard for problems of ecology, and the enormous losses of timber. An appeal from a group of public ecological movements was read, which called on the parliament not to approve the candidate.

This is the third instance of a candidate who had passed through the filter of parliamentary committees and commissions being turned down. Six other candidates were rejected at the preliminary hearings stage in committees and commissions.

Review of Government To Continue

LD1007160189 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 10 Jul 89

[TEXT] Moscow July 10 TASS—TASS parliamentary correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

The USSR Supreme Soviet which broke off last week the discussion of the government's composition as head of the Supreme Soviet Nikolay Ryzhkov left for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries to Bucharest resumed the debates today and endorsed three more ministers.

Vadim Bakatin was confirmed in the post of USSR Interior Minister. A party executive in the recent past he became head of the ministry eight months ago. Prominent Soviet cardiologist Academician Yevgeniy Chazov was confirmed in the post of USSR health minister. Aleksandr Mikhalchenko who was first deputy minister of assembly and specialised construction works became minister of assembly and specialised construction works.

Today was not a lucky day for Mikhail Busygin who headed the Ministry of Timber Industry from 1982 and who was recommended to this post again. Deputies criticised him for depletion of forests, lack of attention to ecological problems and huge waste of timber. 272 members of the Supreme Soviet voted against his confirmation in the post (85 voted for, 43 abstained). This is the third case of the rejection of a nominee endorsed by parliamentary committees and commissions.

The discussion of the compositon of the Council of Ministers will be continued tomorrow morning. Only 17 persons remain on the list of nominees to posts of heads of ministries and agencies. This list is apparently to be enlarged in the days ahead. Candidatures to a number of vacant posts are expected to be proposed by the head of the government.

Gorbachev Defends Election Procedures

LD1007220889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Report on 10 July joint session of both houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by correspondent Igor Zorin]

[Text] Today's session of the Supreme Soviet started not with a debate on the composition of the government but with completion of the formation of the Collegium of the USSR Procuracy. It was formed. At the end of each session there remain 10 or 15 minutes for settling so-called current questions. This so-called procedural part can be controversial. There is plenty of work here for the chairman, and I remind you that today the session was conducted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Listen:

[Begin recording] [Shcherbak] Deputy Shcherbak from Kiev. Mikhail Sergeyevich, we have come here for serious work and each time it turns out that someone has not spoken. We need to work this mechanism out somehow. I asked if I could speak for the candidature of Comrade Doguzhiyev. You asked me if I had any critical remarks to make. I said no, of course, I simply do not know him, but I had some serious ideas. I was not allowed to speak. On Thursday, I registered with Anatoliy Ivanovich for the candidature of Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov. Today I was simply forced to vote against him. I voted against Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov. I explained why. I spoke in detail in the commission and the joint session of the ecology committee and the health commission. But today his replies in general satisfied me but I had to speak and say something about the complaints—there

are thousands and thousands of voters. As far as Chernobyl is concerned, I have been sending dozens of telegrams; people are being sent to me the whole time, meeting me, and so on. And I do not understand, how are we going to work if we cannot say a few words.

[Gorbachev] What are your proposals?

[Shcherbak] These are my proposals: If such vitally important questions are being discussed as the people's health, I consider—I am a doctor myself and have been working in the health service for 30 years—I consider that the most important thing in the country is the people's health, and it is the most important ministry, not heavy metallurgy. And so we should not hasten and make a hash of all these things.

[Gorbachev] No.

[Shcherbak] It is a matter of detail. You know we are discussing a most important problem, Mikhail Sergeyevich. Two minutes—is that time?

[Gorbachev] Good. Your idea is clear. But I must say this: We have not been reading them aloud. Here I can [changes thought] where are these telegrams? We have not been reading them out because what does it matter if 1 telegram comes or 2 or 10 or 20 even out of 287 million, and they say, when are you going to finish your chatter and when is there going to be a government which will settle the questions, and so on, and so on. There are also telegrams like this: Here is one from Leningrad: I am surprised at the behavior of individual deputies during the debating of the candidatures. It can clearly be seen on television screens how they chatter, sleep, and what really exhausts your patience is the blatant reading of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA during the debate on Minister Lemayev. Parfenov, Leningrad, Ulitsa Solidarnosti Dom 13, and so on. And here are more on the same subject.

But we must display the responsibility which rests on the Supreme Soviet, including as regards to forming the government. For instance, I have just returned from a trip. They spoke to me, shared experiences. We should put our ministers through that in Norway, the chairman of the Committee of the Council of Europe said. But, he said, in our country we do not have that. In our country the chairman makes a proposal, it is debated in the committees, the business is conducted in committees. If agreement is reached in the committees the question is settled. And if he comes to the conclusion that they should be put through parliament, then I think that this time we have taken this road, comrades, in spite of all the expenses, perhaps some losses, and time, I think that for the first time we are getting to know ourselves. For the first time we have seen and the people have seen who is going into the government. We have listened, we have heard their arguments. I really think this is a big stride in the right direction, also for the Supreme Soviet itself, so that it can display this power.

Sometimes it is suspected that we have not decided anything. I tell you, if the congress and the Supreme Soviet have done their job properly in respect of forming, at the present stage, an efficient structure in the Supreme Soviet and an efficient government, then that is the most important task which has to [changes thought] they must conduct their business in the spirit of the line which we consolidated in the decisions of the congress. So I think we are engaged in a very important business and even if we are suffering some losses in the sense that the matter is not going as fast as we would like, it is going as well as it probably can go, especially as it is the first time the Supreme Soviet is coming face-to-face with the government and with all the other pretenders—first in the Supreme Soviet and now the government—and it wants to know who it is going to do business with in the next 5 years.

Evidently the question arises: What is to be done? If there are any rational proposals on this question, I think we have tried various systems here: 15 minutes for ministers' statements and 15 for discussion. When we come to such ministers as Yazov, Bakatin, Chazov, it turns out we need an hour there and an hour for discussion. And again, that is not enough. You know, the deputies do not agree, I see, because even members of the committees are asking and insisting on having their word when these candidates have been discussed. So, that is the situation. [end recording]

[Zorin] On Tuesday the session will continue its work in the Kremlin.

Khitrin, Bakatin Address Meeting

LD1007163589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Excerpt] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our special correspondent Igor Zorin is in the studio.

[Zorin] Hello, esteemed comrades. Today's USSR Supreme Soviet session began with the continuation of the formation of the USSR Procuracy's top bodies. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev chaired the session. Comrades Smirnov, Shadrin, Shkrebets, and Khitrin were approved as members of the USSR Procuracy collegium. In particular, Yuriy Aleksandrovich Khitrin, put forward for approval in the post of chief of the department for supervision of compliance with the law in labor and corrective institutions, said the following, speaking to deputies:

[Begin Khitrin recording] Esteemed Comrade Deputies: Our supervision for compliance with the law in labor and corrective institutions has recently been of paramount importance in (?all spheres of) procuracy supervision, and of its activity. It must be said that the situation has become rather complex in places of deprivation of freedom. As a result of the amnesties granted in 1985 and 1987, and as a result of the humanization of legislation, the number of people in isolation, behind barbed wire, in

places of deprivation of freedom has almost halved. Today, the [word indistinct] situation in colonies is altogether complex. Eighty-percent of convicts in places of deprivation of freedom are repeat offenders. Every second or third person requires treatment, either for drug addiction or for alcoholism. Every seventh person is an especially dangerous recidivist. Evidently, all these factors have recently led to cases of hostage-taking and other illegal actions, which are having a negative effect on the (?overall) state of affairs in places of deprivation of freedom, and are causing a certain indignation among the inhabitants of our country. It must be said that to date, we have had some fifty cases of hostage-taking.

The question of a law on the social adaptation of convicts following their release from places of deprivation of freedom needs to be examined. Existing guarantees of the rights [words indistinct] of convicted persons need to be examined. Here are some notes: Yuriy Aleksandrovich, where is Churbanov serving his sentence? Why was he transferred to Nizhnyy Tagil?

In Nizhnyy Tagil there is a colony for all those criminals from our midst. Procurators are imprisoned there, officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and other persons. He is also now at this colony in Nizhnyy Tagil. A procuracy inspection group was there recently and I can assure you he is serving his term just as others connected with the case.

Supervision of places of deprivation of freedom should be carried out by special observation commissions. Unfortunately these observation commissions function only formally in the regions. They should be compulsory at places of deprivation of freedom; sometimes we are forced to drag these commissions there. [end recording]

[Zorin] Following this the deputies returned to the discussion of the question related to the approval of the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers. To remind you, it was interrupted at the end of last week as a result of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's foreign visit. Discussion began with the candidacy of Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin for the post of USSR Minister of Internal Affairs. He was given the floor and he began his speech thus:

[Begin Bakatin recording] Statistical data on crimes for the first half of the year, received literally only a few days ago, show that, unfortunately, the rate of the increase is not changing and remains very high. In comparison with the same period last year, the rate of increase of serious crimes comprised 39.9 percent and unfortunately, in all responsibility and knowing where I am, I cannot inform you that the number of crimes will decrease in the immediate future. The forecasts of the Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs which we are carrying out show that in 1990-1991, we can only achieve a reduction in the rate of the increase of crimes.

Just as finances, in concentrated form, reflect the state of the economy, so crime reflects the processes taking place in society as a whole. The transitional period which we are now experiencing, the inevitable and the disproportionate, unbalanced development in the economy, in politics, and in the social and moral sphere is resulting in tension, disproportion, shortages, and social injustice. It is thus stimulating crime. It is another matter that the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the other law-enforcement bodies and state administration bodies should have predicted this and worked out the relevant neutralizing measures. My own personal opinion is that this was doubly necessary since at the start of restructuring all, or almost all, law-enforcement activity was somewhere in the background with us. There were peculiar notions of socialist legality. For this reason, at the 19th party conference a new political conception was worked out that placed lawfulness, humanization, and the idea of the creation of a law-governed state in the front rank of nationwide tasks.

It must be said, however, that no single, promising, strategic program of consistent practical measures to implement it was formulated; neither is there one today. Hence there is no system or complex approach to fight against the consequences or the causes. While we have done virtually nothing toward strengthening the restructuring of the bodies of criminal justice and social crime prevention, we have moved ahead considerably in the matter of the humanization of justice. This has already been mentioned here. In 3 years restraining measures and punishments related to imprisonment have sharply dropped, by half. The number of people kept in colonies has dropped by virtually half. A question was asked here and I can say to deputies that there were 1.6 million; now there are 800,000. Of course there are moves in the right direction, one can say that these are revolutionary changes. However, in a situation where a system of social adaptation and rehabilitation has not been set up, where difficulties with getting established in life and work are increasing, this leads, and has already led to a rise in recidivist crime.

The second thing that has been done in practice and has become a part of life and that has succeeded in capturing the minds of the public is the condemnation of arbitrariness and lawlessness, and the confirmation of the primacy of legality. This is an indisputable achievement of restructuring. Relations in society have changed, as have political attitudes. It must also be said that the nature of crime has also changed. The legal base has remained the same as before, with a multitude of blank spots. The old, conservative system of legally binding acts and all kinds of restrictions is still very much alive. As a result, a rift has appeared, on the one hand between political ideas and the demands of society, and on the other between obsolete and real, really functioning rights which nonetheless, in conditions of the construction of law-governed state, cannot be disregarded. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Khitrin, Chazov Answer Questions

LD1107062489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Relay of USSR Supreme Soviet session proceedings in the Kremlin 10 July, at which Yuriy Aleksandrovich Khitrin, candidate for the board of the USSR minister of internal affairs, and Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, candidate for USSR minister of health, read and answer questions submitted to them in writing; presented by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Khitrin] [passage omitted] I must say that several years ago there were more than a million people [in corrective labor institutions] There are now just over 500,000, but you will be told about this in greater detail, clearly, by the USSR minister of internal affairs, who will be seeking confirmation. [passage omitted]

Do you not consider that criminals and political prisoners should be kept separately?

Deputy Medvedev, Comrade Medvedev, there are now no political prisoners, that is right. That is, there are four people in places of deprivation of liberty, that is, in one of the colonies, four people. And they have been convicted not for political crimes, but for treason in the form of espionage. [passage omitted]

[Bakatin] [Passage omitted] If one adds that glasnost has brought the law enforcement bodies out of a very privileged zone, where they were closed to criticism, then it will become clear why we now have such general dissatisfaction with the militia, the procuracy, and the courts. The only bad thing is that on the wave of this justified dissatisfaction, there has appeared a great deal of what I would call poisonous froth that degrades and insults the human dignity of the militiaman. All of this, taken together, has led not to strengthening of the criminal justice organs, but to confusion; a belt-and-braces approach, a fear of using unpopular sanctions, even if they are lawful. It is no accident that against a background of a rise in crime in the last few years, the number of those detained and arrested has gone down by a factor of nearly two, from 749,000 in 1986 to 402,000 in 1988.

It must be said that this tendency has been overcome this year. Law enforcement bodies have started acting more boldly, but as a whole we see the reason for such a phenomenon not in the raising of the level of demands, which are undoubtedly just, but in the nonconformity with these demands of the level of professionalism among inquiry and investigative bodies, as well as in the futility of attempts—on an old legislative base, on an out-dated system of evidence permitted by the courts—to fight new, rapidly arising criminal aggravations. We are only removing the surface participants and executors, while the organizers of the system of bribes, swindling, speculation, racketeering, plundering, and other major combinations and affairs remain unpunished, as a rule. Going by the results of over 6 months, the burden on strategic personnel and investigators today has grown by 36 percent. This is a very great increase, and now they are not coping with the mass of crimes that actually have begun to rain down on them.

Moreover, one must also bear in mind the following point: The nature of crimes has changed in the direction of a growth in acts of crime; the struggle with which represents the greatest complexity. For example, for many years, of the numbers of premeditated murders, approximately 60-65 percent were so-called domestic murders, which were easily exposed. Last year, crimes of this sort made up just 40 percent, while 60 percent were murders with mercenary and other motives. Such tendencies have led to the fact that the growth rate in the remainder of unexposed crimes is today three to four times ahead of the growth rate of those registered. An utterly unnatural situation has taken shape. Severe crimes are growing, while convictions are dropping. On the face of it we have a crime crisis. Such is the bleak reality. [passage omitted]

You know that the congress instructed the Council of Ministers to work out an all-union program to fight crime. This is very serious work that requires the participation of all public and state bodies. On the initiative of the Institute of State law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a theoretical model of this program has been worked out. Already one can say with utter certainty that the main qestion will be one of resources. [passage omitted]

I must say, self-critically, that restructuring has begun in the bodies of the Internal Affairs Ministry. It is proceeding, but is proceeding with difficulty. The inertia of the system is very great. [passage omitted] In the bodies of the Internal Affairs Ministry, first and foremost, we have taken a firm course—together with the collegium and the political administration—away from putting on a show, from lies and eyewash, toward the truth, however harsh or bitter it might be. [passage omitted] The militia should rely on the masses. Therefore, it should be open and understandable to people. The primary aim is to restore truth. Trust can be restored only by such openness and honor.

Second, great work is being carried out now. It has already begun, and one already can speak of certain concrete results in decentralizing the administration. The entire militia was unnecessarily centralized. Significantly more independence now has been given to both republican and oblast administrations. [passage omitted] The first steps have been taken to democratize the running of what is still a generally command-administrative system. A public council of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has been created. On a public basis, expert commissions have been created in main committees, and so on. [passage omitted]

The personnel question is a key issue for us, and first and foremost are clearing out corruption and carrying out restructuring. Such a program currently is being worked out with the help of scientists and in accordance with modern demands: Our system of professional, political, and physical training. Life has shown us more than once that the militia has shown itself unable to defend the legitimate rights of the citizens if its personnel have not been educated in the principles of internationalism. [passage omitted]

It must be said that at the moment we do not have the financial and material possibilities to reequip technically or to computerize the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as quickly as the situation demands. [passage omitted]

The question of making corrective labor institutions more humane is an important and complex one. Comrade Khitrin has just given a detailed report on this subject, and I can only add one thing to that: It is important that we abandon the preeminence of production here, which hinders us from carrying out the program that, with our colleagues from the procuracy, we have sketched out to make this whole system more humane. For your information, I will tell you that the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs produces output of a quite unimaginable range, worth R9 billion. Unfortunately, all this output is very much needed.

We have embarked on a system of speedy reaction in giving help to the people. At the moment, a large-scale action is underway to combat the preparation of drugs in Central Asia, and so on. [passage omitted]

At the same time, it must be said that there is in our work a totally new problem for us. This is the question of interethnic conflicts and public safety. It is now holding us in a state of constant tension, taking up a mass of energy and attention. Literally just 2 years ago, there was no such problem.

The militia doesn't oppose any pluralism of opinions within the framework of socialist ideas, but at the present time we are concerned at the ever more frequent attempts to resolve problems by force. And the law, it must be said, is beginning to retreat in the face of violence. This is particularly noticeable in interethnic relations. There are sufficient examples, I could cite them, but you probably have a good idea. Refugees have appeared in the country. This bears unerring witness to the fact that we have allowed a manifest slackening in the application of the force of the law in curtailing violations of national and racial equality of rights.

These articles in the code are in practice inoperative, either in the old or the new edition. As an example I can say that in the whole of 1988, only one person was convicted under this article. The law is totally inoperative with regard to inciters and those who inspire ethnic hostility. The law enforcement bodies and, primarily, I have to say, the procurators of the union republics, dilligently avoid these procedures, preferring to qualify acts, manifestly occurring on the basis of ethnic strife, only according to such consequences as murder, hooliganism, or grievous bodily harm. Criminal manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism are thus reduced to the level of ordinary crimes of violence, the political edge of legal assessments is reduced, and the impression is created of a real lack of protection or the equality of rights that is proclaimed in the Constitution. We mustn't allow this.

Democratization of society has granted freedom to reason and creativity, but it was not a matter of freedom for blackmail, provocations, and violence. It has been clear for a long time that there is no alternative to restructuring, and it is also clear that the guarantee of restructuring lies in greater democracy, but the guarantee of greater democracy, it is probably quite obvious, lies in the stability of society, in respect for and compliance with the law.

I would like to be understood correctly: I am not urging that we put the screws on. That is all the indicators want, and they are already prophesying on all sides an allegedly inevitable return to the repressions. This is undoubtedly nonsense, because political problems cannot be resolved other than by political means, but we must answer lawlessness and violence with force, and moreover, force that relies on the law and protects democracy. [passage omitted]

Just counting the militia we have 700,000, while of internal troops, if we do not count those troops that protect [penal] colonies, we have today a complement of 36,000, including the fact that of them only 18,000 can take action without first contacting their base. For beat and point duty, on the street, there are 18,000.

[Gorbachev] How many does that mean per head of population?

[Bakatin] From the state budget about...[changes thought] that is to say, the number of militiamen per 10,000 people is 17. [Murmurs from hall: not very many.] I said from the state budget, not counting the watchmen, of whom we have 1 million 200 thousand [remainder of number indistinct].

[Gorbachev] I am asking because when I was in the FRG and was chatting, I looked around and there were police everywhere. Where do so many come from? [passage omitted]

[Bakatin, reading out question] Can you give us information about the number of investigative staff who have left over the last 2 years? To what do you attribute the resignations, if they are of a mass nature?

On average, for example in 1985, we had 1,682 people leaving, although last year only 100 people joined the investigative staff. However, Comrade Vsadnik is right that the morale and the psychological atmosphere in investigations, and not only in investigations, in the militia, is very poor. Large numbers of people have started to leave this year. At least, the number of vacant posts on 1 January was 39,000. Today it is 47,000. One of the reasons is the lack of prestige, the unpopularity, and the burden of work without days off that the militia work constantly, as well as the unsatisfactory level of the material situation. [passage omitted]

Deputy Shchelkanov, from Leningrad: Please answer from this rostrum the written question asked by Deputy Boldyrev from Leningrad more than a month ago, concerning the expulsion from the Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies of Militia Captain (Arzhannikov) in connection with the Leningrad Militia's meeting at the Dvortsovaya Ploshchad in the spring of this year. Give us your opinion on this event and fact.

Yes, indeed, Mr Deputy. Militia Captain (Arzhannikov) has been discharged. This is what I think the attitude ought to be: There are laws which are in force. They may be good, or bad; popular, or unpopular—but it is essential to observe them strictly. This is even more the case where those who have donned the uniforms and taken upon themselves the obligation to observe the law are concerned. We have gotten to the bottom of this fact. All the militiamen and officers who acknowledged this appearance on the Dvortsovaya Ploshachad, this unsanctioned meeting, as erroneous—they all remained to work, but those who persist in their right, as it were, to violate even unpopular laws and to solve goals, good though they may be, with the use of this method—they cannot serve in the militia.

Deputy Misuna—I do not know—I.I. Misuna, from Krasnoyarsk: Inhabitants of Siberia have a demand that you should refrain from sending prisoners to us for exile. Let them serve their punishment where they were sentenced.

This is a perfectly justified demand. It is in accordance with the law. According to the law we are bound, as a rule, I mean that people should serve their terms of punishment where they were sentenced. At present, however, this issue is very complicated, in connection with these sharp cuts I have mentioned. [passage omitted]

Deputy Degtyarev: What gases does the Ministry of Internal Affairs have to disperse meetings and demonstrations?

In order to disperse meetings and demonstrations, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has no gases. The ministry has the Cheremukha-type teargas used to seize armed criminals, to put a halt to mass disturbances and group violations of public order, to repel attacks on citizens, and so forth. Who has the right to give orders to use these gases? Commanders of military units and formations with responsibility for carrying out specific operations and those in charge of specific operations can allow the use of gases.

Tell us where, in particular, were gases used and what gases they were?

In 1988 and this year, this weapon was used 410 times when armed criminals were detained, 88 times when mass disturbances in corrective labor camps were stopped, and 6 times during mass disturbances in Sumgait, Kirovabad, Nakhichevan, Tbilisi, Fergana, and Novvy Uzen. In all: 611 devices.

There is this question—I do not know—I ask you to ask Comrade Ryzhkov—that is, a telegram has arrived and has been handed to me—I ask that the candidate be asked a question about his attitude toward the cadres policy being pursued by Deputy Internal Affairs Ministers Didorenko [Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic deputy internal affairs minister] and (Teplov) who, on the pretext of combatting corruption, have smashed the local militia cadres of Uzbekistan, while the leadership of Uzbekistan is incapable of coping with these masters of destinies who, enjoying the support of Gdlyan and Ivanov, have been pursuing their pernicious practice, directed against the people, in the localities. [Signed] (Peskunov).

I do not agree with the author. The struggle against corruption in the Uzbek Ministry of Internal Affairs, and not only in the Internal Affairs Ministry, must be continued, and the leadership of Uzbekistan is in agreement.

Deputy (Poleskiy) asks: What do you think of improving the structure of the state road safety system so it can function more effectively?

I will say frankly that I personally have not made a deep study of this question and have not been engaged in it. I just have not had time over the past 8 months, but I agree that we have a great deal of disorder in the road transport service. This is borne out, at least, by the growth in the number of those dying on the roads: 47,200 last year. If we make another comparison with abroad, then for every 10,000 units of transport we have 10 deaths, while in the FRG, for example, the figure is only 3. We have now replaced the leadership of the main administration and are thinking of bringing this service down a peg or two from its rudeness and superficial work, to bring its work closer to reality.

Armed and organized crime is taking on threatening proportions in the country. What do you think? Do we now need stricter measures to curb such phenomena?

Together with the Procuracy and the Ministry of Justice, we have prepared a whole bloc of amendments to our criminal and procedural legislation which will make it possible to combat this evil more effectively.

Protection of militia officers in the legal aspect; is the ministry working out proposals for securing the legal protection of its subordinates?

Yes, they are being worked out; just such a bloc has been worked out, and in principle, we would like, even during this session, for the deputies to be able to examine it. The main thing today, however, is the simply unsatisfactory use by the courts, unfortunately, of legislation that is in force, which also protects the militia from criminal infringements from various directions. We and the Supreme Court—the Supreme Court collegium, that is—have agreed that the Supreme Court will examine this unsuitable practice, which is now manifestly directed against the militia.

These were the questions which came to me previously. Now for the questions I have just received.

How do the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB cooperate in resolving problems related to public safety?

I have to say that this is a very acute, very interesting, and timely question. We are now, in purely practical terms, beginning to work with the KGB. We are working out joint instructions. It is not here in Moscow that it is important to work; we do not have any problems here. It is impotant that there should be such contact at the grassroots level, at rayon level. That is what we are striving for today.

Organized crime exists in the country: mafias, and so on. Why?

I am sure that the relevant internal affairs organs have detailed information on this.

So why are these major centers of crimes not eliminated?

I cannot put it like that; why are they not being eliminated. We have now set up a special—that is, in the first place, this is being dealt with by the Main Investigation and the Administration for Combatting Embezzlement; we are currently in contact with the KGB on this same issue and they are now taking on some of the work in this and are helping us—and in the second place, a special unit has been set up, the so-called (?sixth), which is beginning to engage in just such major centers of crime. There are a whole number of major centers of crime that have been eliminated already, but I simply cannot go into details here, especially as I do not actually remember them.

Does the new draft law on criminal liability provide for an effective fight against organized crime?

I have already said that such proposals have been made.

Is there a connection between the rise in adolescent crime and the fact that the cinema and television are showing sex and violence? What do you think?

I think that there is a connection.

Do we need censorship in this regard?

No, we do not.

What is the connection between crime and the unrestricted sale of alcohol?

A rise has begun in our country. If in 1985—when the stormy campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism was at its height—crime, including drink-related crime, dropped sharply. At the present time, when a gradual relaxation is beginning here, there has been a sharp rise in drink-related crime; approximately 30 percent of all crimes are committed under the influence of drink, and this is only what has come to light.

What is being done in the organs of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration to return stolen cars and motorbikes to their owners, if it is not a secret?

Three vehicles are stolen every hour in the Soviet Union. This is a statistic. What is being done? Probably not enough, I cannot speak about this in detail. There must be an improvement in the work of the State Motor Inspection Administration [GAI], and not just of the GAI, but also of the Criminal Investigation Department.

You said nothing in your speech about juvenile crime.

Yes, it is a very sore issue. Juvenile crime grew in our country last year by 11 percent, and over the first 6 months of this year, by 22 percent already. So in all our normative documents and in organizing the work of the internal affairs organs in general—from the ministry, from every central directorate down to the rayon directorate—we have agreed to place priority on attention to young people. [passage omitted]

Sometimes there appear in the press data about deaths of militia workers while carrying out their official duties. According to some data, 250-300 people are killed annually.

Well, the year before last, 180 people were killed, and last year, 260. This year—I am simply very superstitious about this, but so far the trend is that fewer will be killed than last year, shall we say. Not so many have been killed during the first 6 months. So, if you take into account the rocket troops as well, the Ministry of Internal Affairs loses up to 500 per year. That is not right, I will look into it again; 263 people last year, [figures as heard] [passage omitted]

The question of training cadres, in general.

We put a militiaman out on the street after 4 months of training. This training is useless. We have now adopted a decision that beginning 1 July, the initial training period for a militiaman will be 10 months. So we have decided to increase expenditure on this. [passage omitted]

Why is there direct speculation in goods in our state shops at increased prices while there are Internal Affairs Ministry organs there which do not take any measures?

Probably if it is indeed so—and there are such incidents, I do not wish to say that there are none—this is evidence simply of the qualitative composition of our militia cadres and that among our cadres there are unfortunately many people who also work in crime. It is our task to get rid of them. [passage omitted]

On Thursday evening someone threw Cheremukha in the restaurant of the Hotel Moskva. Do you know about this and where could an ordinary citizen get such a weapon?

I do not know about this, although I must tell you that the events in Tbilisi have made us analyze very seriously the procedure for stocktaking, storage, and writing-off, etc., of these Cheremukha items. We have identified a whole series of outrages in this respect against which definite measures have now been taken, although these items are in the possession of citizens. [passage omitted]

[Chazov] [Passage omitted] I have a question by Deputy Shevchenko, who asks about the Chernobyl problems—that is: Igor Nikolayevich Shcherbak, and Valentina Semenovna Shevchenko. This is the question: When will the Ministry of Health remove the veil of secrecy from questions relating to radiation and the worsening of the oncological situation in individual rayons? I must say that I must still state officially from this platform that there are no secret figures in the Ministry of Health today. There was a last figure on the sickness rate from plague. Each year we have one or two cases of plague, and they have them in the United States, and so on, but this year the ban has been lifted even on this figure. Therefore, if someone somewhere is not being given something, then it is not the USSR Ministry of Health, but either the local healthcare bodies or the local authorities.

Here is another question: Why are Chernobyl veterans, who received 50-100 rem not allowed to acknowledge a connection between their illness and their participation in eliminating the results of the accident?, the deputies ask.

I must say, comrades, that there are no restrictions or bans. Moreover, I have only just looked and in the last month commissions have acknowledged a connection between the illnesses of 20 people and participation in eliminating the Chernobyl accident. Understanding the situation which is being created and the dissatisfaction of certain comrades, we—three organizations: the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; the State Committee for Labor and Social Affairs; and the Ministry of Health—have set up a special expert commission. Shcherbak is here; I can pass on to him this letter on the setting up of these expert commissions, which should sort out all such disputed questions. [passage omitted]

Deputy Ivanov: Social tension in society is preserved because of the presence of privileges of various groups, in particular in the system of the Ministry of Health there is the fourth main directorate, which is responsible for privileged health establishments for the top nomenklatura. How do you intend to deal with question of the continuing existence of this focus of injustice?

Well, comrades, I have been answering this question. First, I should say that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has stated that a commission will be set up which will examine all privileges and concessions. If you want my own principled opinion, you know, I am always very careful when it comes to what was created by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. [passage omitted]

Well, here we have again: You are head of the fourth directorate, for more than 20 years you have been head of the fourth main directorate, beside your activity in the Academy of Sciences, and so forth. How do you explain the serious deformations in our area, in particular, of maternity homes? Some units [word indistinct] in a critical situation. What was your part in such errors within the ministry itself?

He considers that I was deputy minister. I have also answered that question, when television viewers asked me about it during a live program. I must say that I never kept aloof from the solution of any issue. Even during the so-called, or what is now called, period of stagnation, I was always raising the issue of the bad state of the health service. You may pick up documents of the Supreme Soviet of 12 years ago, when I led a commission of deputies that examined the state of medical care, particularly the provision of medicine for the country. What we are saying today was being said by Supreme Soviet deputies then, too. They were laying this up to submit it to the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The issue was examined in the USSR Council of Ministers, too.

Unfortunately, no solutions were found to it, to the question of the grave state of health care, I mean. Well, I do not know. Probably the members of the Politburo may well know, those of them who were perhaps working at that time. They may be aware that I, as a member of the Central Committee, wrote a letter at that time to Comrade Brezhnev, expounding all the specific information on the serious state of Soviet health care. Then I wrote a letter to Comrade Chernenko, when he was the general secretary of the party Central Committee. It was this, incidentally, which initiated tackling the question of raising salaries. If one takes the ecological situation, I can say today that the fact that there is today no atomic power station in Zhiguli—citizens of Kuybyshev know all about it—owes much to Academician Chazov, who at that time, during that period, raised the issue of the

incorrectness of constructing an atomic power station in Zhiguli and of building a pumped storage station there. Although it was complicated and was under debate for a long time, nevertheless it was not built, as you know. So, that is my attitude to the situation, and my attitude to the situation that has emerged in health care. I never act against my conscience, nor have I ever done so, and I always defend my principles.

Gorbachev Begins Leningrad Visit 11 Jul

LD1107095489 Moscow TASS in English 0934 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Leningrad July 11 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrived here today.

At Pulkovo Airport he was met by party and local-government leaders of Leningrad and the region. From the airport Gorbachev and his party headed for the Izhorsky plant located in Leningrad's suburb of Kolpino.

This is a well-known centre of power engineering.

Today Gorbachev is also expected to familiarise himself with the activities of the Soviet-West German shoe-making enterprise Lenvest.

The programme for the Soviet leader's stay in Leningrad also envisages meetings with the communists, public activists and economic executives and managers of the city.

Leningraders Boycott Private Markets Over Prices

LD1007165189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Leningrad, 10 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Irina Zolotareva writes:

There were surprisingly few people in Leningrad markets at the end of last week. Many residents of the 5-million town supported the appeal launched by Aleksey Levashev, a 27-year old engineer and USSR people's deputy, to boycott market and cooperative trade for 2 days. The boycott was caused by prohibitively high prices for fruit and vegetables.

The intolerable character of the situation was aggravated by the fact that the counters of state shops remain practically empty at the height of the season. Using their lawful right, sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes [collective farms] prefer to sell fruit and vegetables to cooperatives which offer higher purchase prices and show—one has to do them justice—greater efficiency in organizing shipments than representatives of state trade.

The consumers' initiative to stage a boycott was supported by the city authorities. They sharply reduced prices for vegetables and fruit. Numerous state trade venues, stalls and stands, were set up right at the entrances to markets.

In an interview to journalists, Aleksandr Levashev described all this as a great victory of the Leningrad consumers who have succeeded in drawing attention to the problem as the first step in the struggle against cooperatives with speculative intentions and for asserting a sensible price policy and social justice.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Makes New Appointments

LD1007165289 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0000 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Excerpts] We now return to the session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet which was concluded yesterday.

Kazimiera Prunskiene, doctor of economics and member of the Sajudis Seims Council, was appointed deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Jonas Jagminas was appointed another deputy premier. He is a specialist in agriculture who has recently been working as first secretary of the Silale Rayon Party Committee.

Kazimiera Prunskiene's appointment in the government of the republic is absolutely new—to ensure the economic independence of the republic and widen foreign links.

Janos Jagminas replaced Juozas Bernotavicius who has retired. He was also responsible for agricultural matters, although he had the status of first deputy. [passage omitted]

Vytautas Petras Knasys was appointed minister of agriculture. For the last several years he held the post of director at the Vezaiciai branch of the Scientific Research Institute of Agriculture.

Juozas Asenbergas was appointed chairman of the Agro-Supply Committee—he lately held the post of deputy chairman of the Agro-Industrial Committee.

Marijonas Misiukonis was appointed minister of internal affairs. [passage omitted]

Vladislovas Jankauskas was appointed chairman of the State Committee for Statistics. He was given the post last month and before that he worked at the [Lithuanian] Communist Party Central Committee.

Speeches were made by all the nominees for the posts at the Supreme Soviet session.

Vytautas Knasys, minister of agriculture, said, for example, that the new law on individual farming which allows people to acquire land for eternal use will not yield tangible results before 5 years time. [passage omitted]

Making use of the amendment in the constitution which declares the priority of republican laws over All-Union laws, the Supreme Soviet rejected the regulations on the taxation of cooperatives which is in force in the Soviet Union and adopted its own regulations which are rather flexible. [passage omitted]

On the proposal of deputy Kazimieras Motieka, the Supreme Soviet session decided to authorize the Lithuanian Council of Ministers to take action over deforestation in areas used for military bases in the territory of this republic.

Lithuanian Communist Party Holds Plenum 10 Jul
LD1007161289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Vilnius, 10 Jul, (TASS)—A plenum of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party took place here today. In accordance with a decision of a preceding plenum, which announced party discussion and decided to convene a congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party this year, a commission has been formed to prepare program documents of the Communist Party of Lithuania. The draft documents should be presented for open discussion in August.

Lithuanians Assess Yeltsin on Nationalities Issue
LD0107140189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] We have recently received a letter from John Cook in New York, the United States. Mr Cook writes that he is closely following the events in the Baltic countries. He also writes that, according to the information he has received so far, one of the most controversial figures in Moscow is Boris Yeltsin who seems to have been playing the nationalities card for quite a time now. Mr Cook asks whether Yeltsin is as popular in Lithuania as he is in Moscow. Well, my colleague Zibmas Banys has been trying to find an answer to this question. So, Zigmas, how did you fare?

[Banys] Well, first I went to see Mecislovas Laurinkus, Soviet MP and member of the synod council of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis. Then I spoke to (Vytautas Kazlauskas), a philospher and lecturer at Vilnius conservatory. In this country the national question is among those which should be felt first. Boris Yeltsin understands this but he has not made a firm step in this direction yet. In his efforts to climb the political ladder he made a considerable move toward the efforts to solve economic and social problems but he does not forget the national issue either. So one of the important cards for him to play is the national card. Here is Mecislovak Laurinkas with his thoughts.

[Laurinkus] "Boris Yeltsin is acquainted with the nationality problems of the USSR. He also notes that the Baltic nations for instance will not give up their political aspirations. That is why Boris Yeltsin often mentioned this question in his speeches in Moscow's Luzhniki stadium and he will use this card in his political game. "Well inspite of his popularity in Moscow, Yeltsin is not too popular in Lithuania and that is a fact. Why so? There are problems which Yeltsin sees in quite a different light than we do. If Academician Andrey Sakharov speaks about the urgent need to pass political power into the people's hands right away Yeltsin's stand is ambiguous. Nor did he oppose properly the formation of the Constitutional Control Committee at the Soviet parliament. As you probably know, it caused a recent parliamentary crisis in Moscow and was the reason for the Lithuanian delegation's walkout."

[Banys] And now here is (Vytautas Kaslauskus) to voice his thoughts.

[Kaslauskas] "Today the Lithuanians are ready for independence but Moscow's attitude to this question is unfavorable. Our people often compare their prestige in the west where they are regarded as industrious intelligent people, while in the USSR they are officially considered very poor people whose existence is maintained only by Moscow.

"Lithuanians are also called fascist and so on, so Lithuanians are offended. And more, Lithuania has been regarded as a region of the USSR and not a sovereign state. That is why Lithuanians are for independence. But Yeltsin is for a strong centralized state. So on this question speaking out (?receives) [words indistinct]. Yeltsin seems to be still thinking over the meaning of national sovereignty."

[Banys] So, shouldn't Yeltsin get better acquainted with Lithuania. The main problem is that Muscovites regard Moscow to be equal to the entire Soviet Union but the Soviet Union is made up of more than 100 nationalities. So the national issue is the most difficult problem, whose solution should be found immediately, yet what is the main obstacle here?

[Kaslauskas] "Boris Yeltsin is suffering from the same illness that has affected the entire Communist Party and it boils down to this. There is no proper assessment of the nationalities issue, as a nation is something permanent and the party is not. A nation is born not to die. An individual can realize himself only through a nation. When we restore our historic past, when we want to find freedom through truth, I doubt if Yeltsin will be our friend."

[Banys] Well the old feeling of fear seems to be still alive in us especially when we are seeking for the (?subtle) solution of our problems and here every individual counts. What about this?

[Kaslauskas] "Every person in the USSR should establish himself as an individual and be free from spiritual slavery making him a robot. We have brought the entire country to the brink of poverty. In this respect we understand Yeltsin but we are (?quite as afraid) of him because he is one of those who are not too subtle spiritually and who do not respect small nations. In this

country when a small nation raises its head the big one usually becomes suspicious and (?is) ready to deliver a blow on the small one's head."

[Banys] Yes, Yeltsin is for strict measures isn't he. Mecislovas Laurinkus.

[Laurinkus] "Yeltsin is really for strict measures, he is fond of a strong hand. He does not imagine any other way perestroyka could go on. He is for radical reforms with the help of rigid steps. So the Lithuanian people are afraid of him being such."

[Banys] So Yeltsin seems to favor a strong hand in economic reforms but not in political ones. But it is obvious that without positive moves in politics the economy will remain a sleeping lady. without political changes and the solution of the nationality issue perestrokya will lose its attractiveness and the country will continue sliding down toward the economic catastrophe. We Lithuanians are determined to save ourselves through the establishment of independence.

Letter Decries 'Yedinstvo' Resolution Goals

LD1906134089 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 13, 30 Mar-5 Apr 89 pp 1, 7

[Open letter to Russian and Polish members of "Yedinstvo" Organization by Algimantas Liekis, entitled " 'Yedinstvo' Resolutions. Where Do They Lead? Of What Use Are They?"]

[Text] THIS LETTER HAS BEEN DISCUSSED AND APPROVED AT THE 16 MARCH GENERAL MEETING OF WORKERS OF THE LITHUANIAN HISTORY INSTITUTE OF THE LITHUANIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

"Whether I touch a book, or gaze at the twinkling stars in the bright spring sky, or hear the sound of the distant rumble of a train,—I realize all this has been secured for me through the sacrifice of a multitude of my brothers, at the cost of mankind's long suffering and efforts. A multitude of hands, lips, and fervent young hearts now decayed and stilled forever, the toils, the words of songs and the apple tree once again bursting into bloom, from burned out village embers...—all this has been left to me, and I feel the closeness of all those invisible ones sleeping in their eternal sleep near the walls of Stalingrad and along the Dnepr and Nemunas Rivers..." These are the words of our writer P. Cvirka in "Fraternity Seed."

This seed has been nurtured from time immemorial in many Lithuanians' hearts toward the Russian, the Pole, and people of all other nationalities. It was not erased among the Lithuanians by any degenerate aspirations on the part of certain of your ancestors, parents, and even brothers to Russify and to Polonize the Lithuanians and to annihilate and scatter them throughout Siberia's empty spaces, to foist the spirit of slavery upon them or, under the cover of so-called internationalism, "to blend" them with "the great Russian nation," and to eradicate the name of Lithuania from the map and people's memory.

The 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th CPSU Union Party Conference, and the progressive leaders who have attained the country's and Lithuanian government positions have, however, created conditions for public expression of those oppressed true Lithuanian aspirations that have been smothered for many decades. They desire: to become the owner of one's own land, to speak one's own language and to develop one's own economy and culture without restrictions. Many people of other nationalities, residing in Lithuania, have also approved this sacred aspiration. The extremists of "Yedinstvo," "Yednoshch," didn't like this, however, since they were afraid they might lose their privileged position—they may have to learn Lithuanian, may lose their "internationalist" name (to date, only those who renounced national consciousness and assimilated Russian language and culture, were most often called internationalists). Lithuania wants to become a really sovereign republic, rather than an insignificant small part and territory of "a single complex." Consequently, certain "Yedinstvo" leaders began to accuse Lithuanians of that which they themselves were and still continue to be—the greatest chauvinists and Pildsuskiites; they have begun to refer to Lithuanians as "fascists," "nationalists," etc. They have procalimed themselves as nearly the only defenders of socialism.

What type of direction for Lithuania does "Yedinstvo" have in mind? Let us look at the program, published in the second "Yedinstvo" information bulletin, which was approved by the 22 January 1989 initiative conference in Vilnius. Let us also examine "Yedistvo" leaders' program speeches and resolutions that were passed at the famous 12 February meeting near the Sports' Palace, and also elsewhere. One concept emerges from all this: New directions and restructuring are not needed in Lithuania since everything was and continues to be just fine! True, there exist some slightly more progressive declarations. For instance, Paragraph 6 of the Program asserts that "Yedinstvo" supports union republic aspirations for political and economic sovereignty. There exists no mention of or reference to republics, however. It is pointed out in Paragraph 8 that "Yedinstvo" supports only Lithuania's economic sovereignty.

The Lithuanian language is treated similarly. Paragraph 16 seems to recognize that the Lithuanian language can be the state language, but from other paragraphs one gets the impression that this is not in harmony with humaneness. The program, a collection of incidental thought fragments, was taken mainly from Stalinist years. Even the name of Lithuania is avoided there. In many areas there exists simply a lack of understanding of basic administrative and economic questions.

For example, in the 9th Paragraph can be found a formal declaration which states that the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences must work only under conditions of self-education and economic accountability. In every country of the world academic science and basic research are conducted solely at the country's expense and budget. One of the reasons for our falling behind in science (and technology), is due to the fact that insufficient funds were earmarked from the budget, for basic sciences in particular. For this reason, science was most frequently forced to be involved with problems of a rationalizational nature. Obviously, this was of no concern to the program's initiators. This is obvious from the earlier mentioned "Yedinstvo," "Yednoshch" meetings, meeting resolutions, and program pronouncements. The language resolution reads as follows: "We demand a guaranteed right for all nationalities residing in Lithuania to use their own language in all state, economic, public, and political areas of life" (even though in their program they seemed to acknowledge the right of the Lithuanian language to be the state language). In addition to Russians and Poles, however, there are 96 other nationalities in Lithuania. Does that mean we should publish announcements and print documents in nearly 100 languages?

Demands to undertake specialist training at special and higher education schools in all languages, establishing autonomous regions, etc. are similarly illogical.

All such demands are in direct opposition to the most important USSR judicial acts which assert that there does not and cannot exist within the Soviet Union as a federation of national states one compulsory, common to all nationalities, or union language for the entire republic. As was declared by the 19th CPSU Union Party Conference, the state language must be that nation's language whose name is borne by the republic. The Lithuanian language has a centuries-old history and can be the state language. All types of specialists must, therefore, be trained in that language.

"Yedinstvo" insultingly belittles the Russians and Poles, as if suggesting that they would not have the ability to learn Lithuanian in middle school in order to continue their studies at a technical or higher education school. In Warsaw, Moscow, or anywhere else, Lithuanians who do not know Russian or Polish or have only a limited knowledge of it are not provided instruction in Lithuanian by anyone. All specialists must be trained only in the state language. Demands to establish autonomous areas for ethnic minorities, above all, Polish minorities, are immature. Lithuania is not being partitioned for those nations, who have their own states and republics, to establish their "colonies" in Lithuania. This is more than a ridiculous demand. By the same token, we should then also establish Lithuanian autonomous regions in Russia, Belorussia, Poland, England, and elsewhere. By the way, it must be stated as an example, that Poles in Lithuania enjoy better conditions probably, than in any other union republic; only in Lithuania can sufficient Polish schools, Polish press, etc. be found. (The Poles do not have this in Belorussia, the Ukraine and elsewhere.) For instance, one Russian nationality child is accorded approximately 1.5 times more and a Polish child 1. 2 times more space allotment than a Lithuanian child.

Ethnic minorities will continue to enjoy further guarantees of their right to satisfy their cultural needs, to set up pre-school facilities and a press. Those who wish to study in their own language will be accorded an opportunity to attend higher education or special schools in Moscow, Warsaw, or elsewhere. A person can successfully develop, as an individual only, within his own environment, only in his own Fatherland—without it, he is like a tree without roots, a wood shaving tossed about by the wind, and, often, like a spiritual pauper. A mixing of nationalities was only encouraged by tsarism and Stalinism—that is how they started to Russify. Only the occupiers from Hitlerite Germany, tsarist executioners, and the conceited Polish gentry used to refuse to learn Lithuanian and to recognize the Lithuanians' right to sovereignty.

You, Lithuanian Russians and Poles, are not Lithuania's occupiers and must therefore understand that just as the Russians are in Russia, the Poles are in Poland, the Swedes are in Sweden, so, too, are the Lithuanians true owners in Lithuania.

Lithuania is sufficiently mature to associate not only with its brothers and sisters, but also with all others, especially in the realm of economics. Although in the 2d issue of its bulletin "Yedinstvo" claims that attempts by Sajudis to establish such relations constitute a lowering of USSR prestige, "We are not slaves. We are wealthy in our position within the family of Soviet nations!" claims "Yedinstvo."

No less short-sighted is the resolution, which appraises Lithuania's political situation. "A critical situation,"..."right-wing forces usurp the government," "socialist victories are betrayed," "the press has become traitorous, with the exception of SOVETSKAYA LITVA, CERVONYY SHTANDAR and, infrequently, TIESA," and similar utterances, appear in the resolution. Where does such agitation originate? Yes, J. Stalin, V. Molotov, and other such executioners are no longer revered at Lithuanian meetings and in the press. Here, we have begun to raise issues of their illegal actions involving Lithuania and other Baltic States and their forcible inclusion in the union. That is not all, however. Even our efforts to put into effect the republic's economic accountability concept merits this response; supposedly we are attempting to "tear away the republic's economy from the country's union people's economic complex," no more nor less, so that later, an independent Lithuania could be declared etc.

If one wishes to avoid condemnation by "Yedinstvo," one must not carry out decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th union Party CPSU Conference: to clear "the

blank spots of history" and to find new economic alternatives and to reveal shortcomings...since all this, according to "Yedinstvo," constitutes a threat to socialism. Meanwhile, "Yedinstvo" members themselves fail to contribute a single positive proposal that would help to speedily exit the current backwardness and to hasten progress. This leaves us with an impression that "Yedinstvo" actions are limited to obstructing those who toil and search and to planting seeds of mistrust among nationalities.

It is only difficult to comprehend why you don't recognize all this, esteemed Russians and Poles who attend "Yedinstvo," "Yednoshch" meetings and gatherings? Do you stop to ponder, what would happen if these leaders could succeed in putting such "Yedinstvo" resolutions into effect?

In our opinion, we would return not only to Stalinism but perhaps also to the times of Ivan The Terrible. It is difficult to believe that you would desire this. You have only been deceived and misinformed by certain "Yedinstvo," "Yednoshch" extremists—the enemies of restructuring. Having been led to believe in bogeymen, created by their dogmatic imagination, you have thus become fighters against mirages.

We believe that reason will prevail and hope that you, like all Lithuanian people, will turn in the direction of restructuring. Once more, we will cooperate wholeheartedly in supporting one another in order that the resolutions of the 19th CPSU Union Party Conference and the republic restructuring program, set forth in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee platform, may be fulfilled. May unity flourish in the name of this Lithuania! [from Lithuanian National Hymn] [Article includes picture of a note handwritten in Russian, whose caption reads: "The anonymous note is brief but eloquent—'Russians, Slavs! Let us place Lithuania under the flag of Great Russia! A good Lithuanian, is a dead Lithuanian! For 'Yedinstvo,' for 'Yednoshch.'

This is not just Stalinism. A good Indian, is a dead Indian. You recall who said that and for what purpose. Goebbels propaganda transformed this passage into 'where there exists an individual, there also exists a problem; no individual, no problem.'

We don't believe this 'note' was sanctioned by 'Yedinstvo.' We do believe, however, it does convey the mood prevalent at the meeting, which was held near the Sports' Palace."
Signed: G.K. [GIMTASIS KRASTAS]

Latvian Call for Sovereignty Debate Criticized

PM0507161589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIA in Russian 18 Jun 89 p 1

[Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau Resolution: "In Connection With the Appeal of the Latvian People's Front Duma Board of 31 May 1989"]

[Text] The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau notes that the appeal of the Latvian People's Front Duma Board—supported at a Duma session—proposing that the question of Latvia's sovereignty outside USSR statehood be discussed in all People's Front groups and branches is a political action affecting the basic interests of the republic's entire population. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau perceives in this fact substantial changes in the aims of the Latvian People's Front leadership and direct incompatibility with the program documents of its Constituent Congress. A serious change in the activity of the Latvian People's Front has emerged. This is provoking valid concern in party organizations and labor collectives. The question arises of how to reconcile the repeated public declarations by Latvian People's Front leaders and activists about their interest in the radical renewal of the Soviet federation with these decisions. It is impossible not to see that the planned measure is not just an opinion poll among members of the Latvian People's Front or a call to debate, but a conscious attempt to sway public opinion into espousing an unequivocal interpretation of Latvia's state sovereignty that is acceptable to its organizers. Their responsibility for the possible consequences of such actions is all the greater.

The declaration of a kind of referendum on such an important question as the nature of Latvia's state independence and the ease with which the slogans, unbolstered by any economic or political substantiation, are changing show the inconsistency and political shortsightedness of the Latvian People's Front leaders.

The appeal has still further exacerbated the already acute situation in the republic and is not conducive to rallying social forces.

The idea of forming so-called citizens' committees is also very bewildering. In essence, it is a question of creating anticonstitutional formations as alternatives to the local soviets.

Taking into account the resultant situation, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau considers it fundamentally important to declare clearly and definitely that ensuring Latvia's genuine sovereignty and its independence in all spheres of life and guaranteeing nations' right to self-determination constitute a vitally important task for the people and something that the Latvian Communist Party is consistently supporting today. The Central Committee Bureau gives every possible support to the process of the national awakening of the Lettish people and the growth in self-awareness of other national groups living in the republic and it will continue to promote the implementation of measures aimed at making effective use of the national factor in social development and strengthening the status of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] as a sovereign Soviet socialist state within the USSR.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is carrying out intensive work in the sphere of legislation, displaying a constructive approach toward creating a new model of federative relations. The activity of the Latvian SSR

Council of Ministers in restructuring the management of the republic's national economy on the basis of self-management and self-financing is aimed at defending the republic's vital interests. A draft Concept of Republican Economic Accountability and draft laws on amendments to the Latvian SSR Constitution and on elections have been published for discussion by the people.

The propositions collectively formulated by the deputies, including deputies who are members of the Latvian People's Front Duma, and contained in the speeches of Comrades A. Gorbunov and V. Bresis at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and also the constructive proposals of other deputies from Latvia have met with recognition from the general public.

All this can with every justification be regarded as a concrete program of action to achieve economic, political, and legal sovereignty for the republic. Its implementation will demand a great deal of work and cooperation among all progressive forces, a considered policy, and responsible actions. The implementation of what has been planned depends to a decisive extent on understanding and support for the steps that are being taken on the part of the working class, peasants, intelligentsia, and young people.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau sees the task of the city party committees, rayon party committees, and primary party organizations as being to explain the essence of the party's current national economic policy, maintain constant dialogue with all social organizations and movements, shape public opinion in favor of the socialist renewal of our society, and avert fear in people's hearts and minds about their future.

The question of Latvia's sovereignty outside USSR statehood posed by the leadership of the Latvian People's Front demands that labor collectives, the public, and communists—and particularly communist members of the People's Front—show political wisdom and farsightedness and make their actions conform to the economic, political, and demographic realities of our republic.

Soviet Germans Submit Resolution to CPSU

AU2906111589 Bonn DIE WELT in German 28 Jun 89 p 6

["Slightly abridged version" of a resolution on the "Restoration of the Soviet Germans' Statehood" submitted by representatives of the Germans in the Soviet Union to the CPSU Central Committee for discussion and resolution: "Soviet Germans: The Time Is Ripe for a Republic of our Own"]

[Text] As far as we can see, we are on the threshold of important decisions being made. One of them concerns the restoration of the Soviet Germans' statehood. There are some indications that such a decision will possibly be made very soon.

First, the developmental process of national movements has made it necessary to study the nationalities issue in our country very seriously.

Second, the necessity of solving the problem of restoring the Soviet Germans' statehood is not only dictated by purely political or juridical aspects, but also by our country's economic interests. Let us consider just one aspect: The Soviet Germans who in 48 years have had no statehood of their own and no national schools, and most of whom have lost their mother tongue and their national culture, have increasingly arrived at the conclusion that it is practically impossible under these conditions to continue as a people. This has led to the emigration of more and more Soviet Germans.

Third, we must assume that a certain transition of power to the Supreme Soviet, which obviously is supposed to be carried out at the incipient USSR Congress of People's Deputies, will not allow the national problems of the Soviet peoples, including the Soviet Germans, to remain unresolved for long....

Fourth, there are no problems preventing a solution to the issue regarding the restoration of German autonomy on the Volga River. There are neither economic nor real national problems, so this issue can be solved separately from all other nationalities problems. In other words, they could actually be solved tomorrow.

Fifth, the problem of the Soviet Germans is addressed time and again at meetings of the FRG and Soviet politicians, even though it is a purely internal affair....

The development of events on the territory of the former German Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic on the Volga has caused some concern.... Some apparatchiks are still considerably concerned about a restoration of the republic.... They also "work on" the people now. The speech by the first secretary of the Volgograd District Party Committee at the April (1989) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and his "worried" question of who would then work in Siberia and Kazakhstan if a republic on the Volga were to be reestablished for the Germans and if they were to resettle from those regions into this republic, are just a clever camouflage to cover up the apparachiks' unchanged position. We see that anti-restructuring forces in the Volga region are also trying to protect their personal interests.

Yet we hope that the restoration of an autonomous republic on the Volga will be resolved nevertheless; then there will finally be an end to the tragic history of the 2 million Soviet German people, who in this half century have been subjected to unjustified accusations, humiliations, repression, discrimination, and injustice.... How should this restoration be implemented?

We think that together with a decree on the restoration of the German Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic on the Volga and a number of German national rayons, a decree

on setting up a government commission for restoring the autonomous republic of Soviet Germans should be adopted. Such a commission would have to have comprehensive powers and rights. It should be composed of representatives of the Soviet Germans, who should be appointed by the people and not by the apparatus, as well as representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee. It should be the task of this commission to deal with all questions related to restoring our autonomy and coordinating the solutions to these questions on the national level....

Particular attention must be paid to the rayons of the future autonomous republic and to work with the Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, and other nationalities living there. Their existing and possible future misgivings must be dispelled, and anti-German moods and riots must be neutralized, which were practically touched off by the speech delivered by V.I. Kalashnikov, first secretary of the Volgograd District party committee, at the April (1989) CPSU Central Committee plenum. I think that here, too, a special group must be formed to work, which should be composed of representatives of all nationalities living there, so that the people will see that everything is being done publicly, everybody's interests are being considered, and nobody should have any fears about the restoration of the Soviet Germans' autonomy.

For the same purpose of creating an atmosphere of maximum tolerance, similar work must be done among the Germans who resettle on the territory of the German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Committed talks must be held with the people, in which it must be made clear to them that any violation of national dignity or any restriction of the rights of the members of the local population will be prevented by the strictest measures, including denying them a residence permit....

What will be the first direct step toward restoring the autonomous republic?

The first step clearly must be to elect a leadership. It would make sense to initially form a provisional government of the autonomous republic. It should be composed of German party, Soviet, and economic officials from their present places of residence. They should be elected delegates of Soviet Germans from rayons, regions, and districts. In view of the very broad spectrum of problems that are to be solved, the government should also include scientists, the creative intelligentsia, and pedagogues. The nationalities living on the territory of the republic must be represented in the government, so that they all experience mutual work and consideration for everybody's interests from the start. As the restoration of the republic is advancing, the provisional leadership must be replaced by elected organs of power.

Once a legitimate government is formed, one of the first steps must be to examine the ecological and radiation situation and to establish land and water registries.... Taking the relevant data into account, a plan for the general development of the republic can be worked out. In doing so, it must be considered that the Soviet Germans' strong aspirations to finally get together again may lead to the possibility that most Soviet Germans will resettle in the republic, and that in the course of time the task will be to transform their autonomous republic into a union republic.

As was stated at the recent Soviet Germans' union conference, they consider it necessary, taking into account the interests of the people who live there now and speak a different language, to build new settlements for the people who resettle in the republic, in order not to destroy the existing structures of cities and villages, to guarantee their further free development, and prevent any restriction on using and learning their mother tongue, and on preserving their national culture, traditions, etc.

We are on the threshold of the third millennium. I think that this must also be reflected by the architecture of future cities and villages of the republic. The plans must not be based on past requirements and standards, but on future requirements and standards. Construction work must be planned on a long-term basis....

Given the general shortage of apartments, at the least it would be immoral if the houses for Soviet Germans were built by persons of other nationalities. It would probably be expedient to invite Soviet Germans who work in the construction sector to come to the republic. Actually, construction in the republic should become a testing ground for applying the latest international construction technology. In this respect, FRG firms could be called in to set up a number of building material factories within a very short time and to start construction work with the support of their specialists and architects....

The Soviet Germans stated at their recent conference that they, who with all of the German people experienced the tragedy of the war involving innumerable victims, considered it impossible to demand the return to their houses which had been illegally confiscated in 1941 when they were resettled and the return of their property, because neither the Soviet people nor those who live in these houses now were responsible for it. However, one should think that the restoration of autonomy for the Soviet Germans must not become another resettlement for them. When they were resettled they had left to the state an infrastructure that was well developed for that time; they contributed more to the Union's coffers during those 48 years than any other union republic, even though by no means did they receive something equivalent from the Union or as much as the other nationalities received. With their resettlement in the republic, they will leave behind their apartments, their share in the social area, and the contribution they have made to the economy of the various regions for half a century. All this can help to improve the living conditions of the population in the regions where they

live now. Thus, it is logical to believe that restoring the republic and developing its entire infrastructure must be done fully at the expense of the state....

The resettlement of the Soviet Germans in the republic must be precisely regulated. Spontaneity may cause serious problems. As a rule, they must resettle in completed houses. Their resettlement must be carried out at the expense of the state, because the people did not go to Siberia at their own request.

Will Soviet Germans emigrate to the FRG after a German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic has been proclaimed? I think they will. They will emigrate as long as they cannot resettle in the republic. Therefore, everything must be solved quickly; not rashly, however, but thoroughly.

Based on the poor raw material basis, the economic structure will probably not be built on material-intensive industrial branches, but on labor-intensive branches that require high intellectual and professional potential, such as the electrical industry and precision engineering. It may be worthwhile to develop the light industry in order to manufacture quality clothes and shoes. On the whole, creating an experimental special economic zone could be carried out in the republic.

From the start, it will be necessary to deal with the revival of the national culture and the language, because that is precisely the most attractive aspect for the Soviet Germans. The introduction of German classes in kindergartens, and teaching some subjects at school in the German language urgently require the relevant training of the cadres.... Sending a large group of young Germans to schools and various facilities for specialist training in the GDR and the FRG, and inviting teachers and specialists from the GDR and the FRG to work in the republic, can be effective....

In addition to a theater and other cultural institutions, a museum of local history and culture and an art museum must be built immediately to preserve and save from decay what still exists. One should think that it is an obligation to help believers build churches and houses of God and to train qualified priests, because the fact that there are no normal conditions for believers is also one of the reasons that people emigrate to the FRG....

War has erased the awareness of many Soviet people regarding cooperation between Russians and Germans over the centuries. Their attitude to the Germans is still largely, but not only, determined by their awareness of the Germans as former potential enemies. An entirely new atmosphere for restoring cooperation between the two great peoples must be created.

Is it possible that the autonomous republic will not be restored? The problem of the Soviet Germans is just one of many problems in the national area. However, it is impossible to solve these problems all at once if we want to preserve our state, our Union.... Can the problem of the Soviet Germans be solved without their statehood being restored? Life has shown that this is impossible.... Is it possible to restore the Soviet Germans' statehood, not by beginning with an autonomous republic, but by beginning with a national rayon, district, or region? We do not think that such a position is acceptable.... The Soviet Germans have experienced enough injustice and have heard many promises and have seen many decrees. To them the restoration of what was illegally taken away from them represents an act of justice.

There was an autonomous republic, and there must be an autonomous republic. If less were to be given, this would be interpreted as unwillingness to fully restore justice. Less will not guarantee the revival of the people, which means that less will create only one thing: a last disappointment, and hardly anybody will resettle in an autonomous region, but instead, emigration to the FRG will be the only way out for the majority.

Can an autonomous republic for the Soviet Germans be restored somewhere else? Elsewhere this could lead to justified clashes between the nationalities.

Representatives of the Russian nationality in particular have suggested as an alternative the Kaliningrad region. This alternative has its advantages regarding international relations. However, can the Soviet Germans accept it? They can only decide this themselves, and in my view, such a suggestion must be made by the government; the local conditions must first be carefully studied by representatives of the Soviet Germans.

Thus, one can only arrive at the following conclusion: The statehood of the Soviet Germans must be restored; based on our present knowledge, it must at any rate be restored on the Volga, where it formerly was. It must be restored in the form of an autonomous republic, and it must be restored immediately, unless we want to make the Soviet Germans' rapidly increasing aspirations to emigrate an irreversible process....

Georgian Commission on Tbilisi Events Meets

PM2906101189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Jun 89 p 2

[GRUZINFORM report: "In the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Commission"]

[Text] A scheduled session of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet commission set up to investigate the circumstances which occurred on 9 April 1989 in the city of Tbilisi opened with a discussion of questions concerning the organization of its contacts with the commission of USSR people's deputies specially set up for the same purpose. Considering the importance of the tasks facing the newly elected commission in establishing the absolute truth, a decision was

made to furnish it with the relevant findings made in the course of the investigation so as to allow it to gain an objective picture of the events.

The session discussed a question connected with the publication of an editorial in the newspaper ZARYA VOSTOKA on 14 April this year, which was referred to 30 May by Colonel General I. Rodionov in his speech at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. In the 31 May issue the collective of the ZARYA VOSTOKA editorial office condemned I. Rodionov's speech, saying that the article had been conveyed to the newspaper by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and did not reflect the views of the editorial collective on the events in Tbilisi on 9 April. As was pointed out in a speech from Georgia at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, reference to a newspaper item from the time when the curfew was in effect could not serve as justification, because the real facts, as is well known, were distorted even to two representatives of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the country's top leadership.

In order to objectively study the circumstances of the appearance of the article in the newspaper, the session heard information reports from A. Ioseliani, editor of ZARYA VOSTOKA, and M. Guliyev, deputy chief of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department.

It was clear from their explanations that the decision to prepare and publish the article in the newspaper ZARYA VOSTOKA was made by the leadership of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee of the time. The article was given to the editorial office through M. Guliyev by B. Nikolskiy, second secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, who at that time had in fact assumed leadership of the republic's mass media. In this respect, the repeatedly stated stand of the Central Committee Ideology Department and newspaper editor, who were opposed to the publication of any editorial before the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum planned for that same day, 14 April, was not taken into account.

Members of the commission reached the opinion that the final conclusion would be made after the appropriate subcommission had studied all items in the republic's mass media from the time when the curfew was in effect in Tbilisi.

The commission heard a report by O. Vardzelashvili, deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's State Planning Committee [Gosplan]. As a member of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, he mainly dwelt on questions concerning the activity of this leading party body in the republic on the threshold of the events which took place on 9 April in Tbilisi. He talked about what, in his view, caused the extreme situation to develop, spoke of the responsibility carried by everyone who should have but failed to make a timely, correct assessment of the complex situation in order to prevent the tragedy, and answered questions.

The session determined measures to speed up the pace of the investigation of the events.

Georgian Popular Front Congress Ends 28 Jun

LD2806142289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1141 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Tbilisi, 28 Jun (Gruzinform-TASS)—The members of the Popular Front of Georgia (a Soviet republic in Transcaucasia), the founding congress of which concluded its work in Tbilisi today, define their goals as being to promote the growth of the people's social activeness and the formation of civic self-awareness.

For 5 days, the Philharmonia concert hall, the largest in the city with 2,500 seats, was packed with delegates from all regions of the republic. Also attending were representatives of the Moscow public and of the Popular Fronts of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

Speaking to journalists, Professor Nodar Notadze of Tbilisi University, whom the Congress elected chairman of the Popular Front's board, stressed the fact that this public organization considers its most important task to be the strengthening of Georgia's political and economic sovereignty, taking into account the interests of all the peoples inhabiting its territory. He said: "We consider the only possible type of state to be a state governed by law." Among the Popular Front's paramount tasks, Nodar Notadze also cited the solution of social problems and the creation of a new constitution for the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. [He stated:] We will pay particular attention to the issues of ecology, land utilization, interethnic relations, and demography.

The congress ratified the platform and statutes of the Popular Front, which currently unites 50,000 people. According to the statutes, anyone who wants to become a member of the front and who is "motivated by noble, universal human and national [natsionalnyy] ideals" may do so.

Armenian Refugees Return to Azerbaijan

PM2906142889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[AZERINFORM correspondent and TASS report: "Let Our Hearth Warm Up Again..."]

[Text] Time passes, but the pain from the deep wounds inflicted on the traditional ties of friendship and good neighborliness between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples by the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has not subsided.

The USSR Council of Ministers, supporting the proposals of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees and the governments of the two republics, formed an interrepublic commission for questions connected with return citizens of Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality to their places of permanent residence and compensating them for material damage.

A.T. Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, head of the Azerbaijani side of the commission, spoke about the work of this organ.

"The commission includes representatives of party, soviet, law enforcement, and economic organs and social organizations of the republic. Corresponding commissions have been formed in 51 rayons and cities in Azerbaijan where the settlers are dispersed.

"Ministries, departments, enterprises, and all the population of the republic have been called upon to help the citizens who have left Armenia for Azerbaijan. The settlers received material assistance of R20 million from the local budget. Over 4,000 families received plots of land to build individual houses and over a third of the settlers of working age are involved in socially useful work. New schools, kindergartens, and extended-day groups have been opened for children of school and preschool age.

"Of course, the main efforts have been directed at organizing the people's return to their permanent places of residence, naturally on a purely voluntary basis. The meetings between the leaders of party organizations of Azerbaijan and Armenia and neighboring rayons of our republics played a positive role in resolving these problems. As a result of the measures taken, more than 48,000 Armenians have returned to Azerbaijan—a third of all those who had previously left."

Azerbaijan Party Plenum Views Agrarian Policy

PM2806134589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Baku, 23 Jun—The republic party organization's tasks to implement the party's modern agrarian policy were discussed at a plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held today.

The report by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and other speeches noted that the all-around development of the republic's agroindustrial complex, the further development of the agrarian sector and the utmost enhancement of its efficiency, and the improvement of foodstuff supplies for the population constitute a key task of restructuring.

It was stressed that special emphasis must be placed on strengthening the material and technical base of processing enterprises and improving the conditions for storing agricultural produce. There was detailed examination of the program for the countryside's social development, which provides for expanding the construction of housing, hospitals, schools and preschool institutions, and facilities for cultural and consumer service purposes, and for developing municipal services.

A resolution on implementing the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions was adopted.

Estonian Presidium Registers New Organizations

LD2806115389 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] A session of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium took place today. It was chaired by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The draft laws on making changes and improvements in the Estonian SSR constitution, and on the election of local soviets of people's deputies in the Estonian SSR were discussed. It was decided to disseminate them for public discussion. The drafts will be published in the RAHVA HAAL and Sovetskaya Estoniya newspapers. The public discussion will continue until 15 (?July).

The session reviewed the constitutions of both the Estonian Rural Union and the Estonian Green Movement. It was decided to register both organizations.

An expert commission of lawyers and jurists with practical experience was set up, charged with the task of working out the following draft laws: on the procedure of carrying out a referendum; on legal protection of the constitutional rights of citizens of the Estonian SSR and of juridical entities, and on the procedure for working out Estonian SSR draft laws. A working group was set up at the Supreme Soviet Presidium in order to make proposals for working out a youth policy. An expert commission was set up to work out proposals in order to bring land legislation, which is valid in Estonia, in line with both the 16 November 1988 resolutions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, and with the law Foundations of Estonian SSR Self-Management.

Estonian Draft Law on Local Elections Noted

PM0507152589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 3

[ETA-TASS report: "Submitted for Discussion"]

[Text] Tallinn, 26 Jun—A draft Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Law on Elections to the Estonian SSR Local Soviets of People's Deputies has been published for nationwide discussion in Estonia.

The draft envisages holding elections for deputies to all soviets of people's deputies in single- or multiple-mandate electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The right to elect is granted with citizens of the republic who have reached the age of 18 and are permanent residents on the territory of the relevant soviet. The draft emphasizes that "any citizen of the Estonian SSR can be a deputy provided he has reached the age of 18 and has lived for at least the last 5 years in the territory of the relevant soviet of people's deputies, or for a total of 15 years in Estonia."

Compared with current legislation, the draft envisages a considerable reduction in the number of soviet deputies.

Some provisions in the draft do not conform with articles of the Estonian SSR Constitution currently in force and consequently, once the law is adopted, it will become necessary to introduce appropriate amendments and additions to the Constitution. Therefore a draft Law on the Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution have been simultaneously submitted for nationwide discussion. The draft laws will be examined by the republic's supreme soviet session 24 July in the light of the suggestions and remarks received.

Next on the agenda is a discussion of a draft law on elections to the republic's supreme soviet.

Belorussian People's Front Created 24-25 Jun

18300730a Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Jun 89 p 2

[Report: "People's Front Founded"]

[Text] The Belorussian People's Front for Restructuring held its founding meeting. For 2 days—24 and 25 June—about 400 delegates and numerous guests held a discussion about the goals and tasks of the new sociopolitical movement in the republic, its program, and the principles of its regulations. It was determined that the BNF [Belorussian People's Front] is being created for the organization of broad public support for radical changes in all spheres of social life and, on the basis of this, the insurance of the irreversibility of restructuring, the awakening of initiative and the democratic and national consciousness of the people, and protection from the attempts on the part of the bureaucracy to halt the process of the renewal of the society and impede the development of democracy and glasnost in the republic. It was also emphasized that the BNF "operates within the framework of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in keeping with its program and regulations."

The movement joins within its ranks communists and nonparty members and representatives of various nationalities and social groups.

Creation of Front Described

18300730b Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Jun 89 p 2

[Report by A. Kozlovich: "The People's Front Has Been Created"]

[Text] A popular movement in support of restructuring was created in Belorussia almost a year ago. An organizing committee was created for the Belorussian People's Front which included eminent activists from the creative and scientific intelligentsia, workers, and employees. Groups supporting the BNF [Belorussian People's Front] appeared at enterprises, on kolkhozes [collective farms], and in institutions throughout the republic. Briefly the BNF organizing committee formulated their goals and tasks as follows: democratization, republic economic accountability, and ethnic revival.

On 23 May the BNF organizing committee asked the Minsk gorispolkom [city executive committee] to assist in creating a founding congress in Minsk. The gorispolkom refused this assistance because the organizing committee had not submitted plans, programs, and the regulations of the BNF. The organizing committee, referring to existing legislation, asserted that it was possible to submit the program and regulations only after they were approved by the founding congress, that is, when they become a fact. Finding no understanding in the gorispolkom, the organizing committee addressed its request to the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet but they received no support there either.

At the same time the republic press was publishing the letters of the workers and resolutions of meetings of labor collectives which unanimously condemned the "confrontational" activity of the impostors (this is what they called representatives of the BNF).

Under the conditions that had been created, the leaders of the BNF organizing committee announced that they would request hospitality from Lithuania. It was offered to all delegates and guests of the founding congress of the Belorussian People's Front "Vozrozhdeniye" which was held in Vilnius on 24-25 June.

The situation is more than strange. A person may or may not like one social movement or another, but it is necessary to conduct dialogue with them and strive for mutual understanding. It was emphasized at the Congress of People's Deputies that this is the only path to the development of real democracy.

Belorussian Deputy on New Front

LD2906175689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] A People's Front has been set up in Belorussia. Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich, USSR people's deputy and vice rector of Belorussia Lenin State University, was among those invited to its first congress. Our correspondent Petr Mikritskiy asked him to speak about the new public organization. Here is the recording.

[Begin recording] [Shushkevich] To my deepest regret, the congress was held in Vilnius. Not only me but many people's deputies regret this fact. We cannot advance along the road of confrontation. We must advance along the road of consolidation of forces.

[Mokritskiy] So you are in favor of dialogue?

[Shushkevich] Yes, I am in favor of dialogue and constructive interaction, but the dialogue cannot develop on a basis that would be humiliating for one of the parties. I acquainted myself with the People's Front's documents during the election campaign, and on the basis of those documents I can say that, naturally, they need perfecting but they contain a constructive basis, for the front has been set up to back restructuring. Right away there were attempts to allege that the front has some secret goals. I think that we, comrades, should speak the language of official documents. In my view, it was too early to revise the documents before the congress. Because the charter was adopted at the congress, it is now an official document. I think that now one can sort things out, at the stage of its registration. Constructive proposals can be introduced from both sides, and I think that the Belorussian People's Front will heed this view. I am completely in favor of dialogue, otherwise we will fail with restructuring.

[Mokritskiy] Is it not possible to solve the problems outlined by the People's Front within the framework of the political structures and public organizations that have already been set up and have been active in the republic?

[Shushkevich] In theory perhaps, but as is often the case here, organizations, in essence, act contrary to what they advertise. When studying materials of the latest plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, I notice all the time that we are moving along an old track, whereas new forces, the self-same members of the People's Front, think that moving along this track is pernicious. In my view, the formations that exist now can hardly leave this track or they will need a lot of time to do that. I have the impression that a new track is emerging alongside the old one, and it is desirable that they head toward the same goal. Then one could fix the old one, too.

[Mokritskiy] Could you tell me please whether or not the People's Front has made attempts to establish dialogue with those who today determine the political line in our republic?

[Shushkevich] I think that both sides have so far displayed confrontational moves, so to speak. This is my personal impression; in any case, that is how it looks on the surface. Now one can think quietly. A charter has been adopted, and the front has been set up. Let us have a look at the first two clauses of the People's Front's charter. They seem to have similar goals, namely, promoting restructuring. On the basis of what decisions? On the basis of the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th party conference. Therefore, there must be a dialogue. I, for one, will be doing everything possible for ensuring that the dialogue between the front—which I support according to my beliefs and which I have not joined simply because of lack of time—and the official forces takes place. I think, as a people's deputy, that we can attain progress only by finding ways to achieving such a dialogue and a worthwhile conversation. [end recording]

Coverage of Front Examined

LD2906204489 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1005 GMT 27 Jun 89

[From the press review; Dora Petkauskaite report, with recorded telephone interview with Oles [name indistinct], the editor in chief of the newspaper NOVYNI; date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Petkauskaite] TIESA published an article on its last page called [words indistinct] by Vytautas Kaltonis and Vytautas Kavaliauskas, and as you have already understood, the article is devoted to the constituent congress of the Belorussian People's Front which took place here last weekend. The congress took place at the Trade Union Palace on Tauras Hill. Here are some lines from the article about the events that took place there:

About 500 delegates and guests took part in the congress. The Belorussian People's Front unites 200,000 members who reside not only on the territory of Belorussia but also in Lithuania, Moscow, Latvia, and elsewhere. Telegrams of greeting from supporters came in from various parts of the country and abroad. [passage omitted]

The TASS information we received yesterday is rather scanty in comparison with what had been described by our newspapers. It is only natural that I wanted to call the leader of the Belorussian People's Front who had just returned to his motherland, and to ask him how things were over there and what they thought about the media's coverage of the current situation and the work of the congress of the People's Front.

Here is a telephone call to Oles [name indistinct], the editor in chief of the newspaper NOVYNI.

[Begin recording] [Petkauskaite in Russian] Here I am holding the TASS information in my hands which was sent in through ELTA and it says that a constituent congress of the Belorussian People's Front for Restructuring and Rebirth took place. However, other elements are absent in this information item; I mean, it says that an event took place but it does not say where and when.

I would like to ask you in connection with this what sort of information had already appeared about this congress, or if it had appeared at all in your official press? What in general was said after you had returned home to Minsk from Vilnius?

[Oles, in Russian] [passage indistinct] the newspaper SOVETSKAYA Belorussia which is published in Russian and is the organ of the party Central Committee has published a report by [name indistinct] where there is also little information. True, it said that the congress took place in Vilnius, but it does not give much information about what documents were adopted there, who was present at the congress, and who made speeches there. [passage omitted]

The article gives a considerable amount of evaluating information and little factual information. [passage omitted]

[Petkauskaite] By the way, were the correspondents of these newspapers present at the meeting? I mean the one you mentioned.

[Oles] This is an anonymous publication signed in brackets correspondent Belka, and that is all.

There are many discussions about this congress here especially in organizations and in the offices where protest groups had been set up. As far as I know meetings with the delegates are taking place [words indistinct]. For example, yesterday a meeting with the delegates of the congress took place at the Soviet Belorussian Encyclopaedia publishing office. The meeting took place at the end of the working day. This is where I work. [passage omitted]

People seemed to be mostly concerned with the problem of relations with the authorities because people believe that much remains unsaid in the publications of the official press.

[Petkauskaite] Despite all this, how do you envision the beginning of the road? Regardless of how difficult this may prove to be, you have to take the road of approximating the ideology with the authorities, i.e. with the party organs or otherwise nothing will come out of it.

[Oles] It looks as if the phraseology—to erase the mood of the past years and to erase the stratifications of the past years—which had become so popular in the country after the present chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet sent the ball rolling would not be entirely appropriate to use with regard to our present administration.

It looks like we will not be able to erase the stratifications, so therefore, the way to a dialogue with the party leadership of the republic will be first of all through the renewal of the party apparatus.

Concerning our next steps? Program documents will be handed in to the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and also concerning registration of the People's Front, documents that were adopted by the Belorussian People's Front [words indistinct] It seems that the relationship between the present administration of the republic and the Belorussian People's Front will largely depend on how the registration of the People's Front proceeds. [end recording]

Populism, 'Yeltsin Phenomenon' Discussed

18001287 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 24 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Andranik Migranyan, head scientific associate of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences, political scientist, by T. Menshikova: "Populism"]

[Text]

The Phenomenon of an Understandable Leader

[Menshikova] Andranik Movsesovich, the subject of our discussion is unusual. For previously the concept of populism was not even included in our political lexicon. It was thought that populism was somewhere over there in America at the end of the century. Somewhere in the recesses of our memory was the image of the governor from "All the King's Men." But populism was not supposed to have anything to do with socialism.... But today when we are understanding more and more that we cannot count on easy victories on the path of the reform of our political system, that events by no means develop on command, and that the society is becoming more complicated, the word "populism" is being encountered more and more frequently. And more frequently in the negative sense of the word. We associate it with the primitive political tactic that plays on the broadest and least demanding audience, and so forth. But what can you say about the essence of this phenomenon?

[Migranyan] First of all I can say that it is time to get rid of using propagandistic "pluses" and "minuses" when speaking about complicated things. They must be analyzed.

For populism is most typical of times of radical change. It can be defined as an ideological tendency and as a political movement but it can also be defined as mass attitudes and desires of the people. It is no accident that it arose as a political movement at the turn of the century in the United States and then populist tendencies became stronger during the twenties during a period of economic crisis. One can single out both right-wing and left-wing orientations in populism. Fascism, for instance also has a powerful political basis.

Equalizing tendencies are very strong in populism with a left-wing orientation. When the customary way of life is violated it leads to a stratification of the society and destruction of traditional ties—and many people are faced with the problem of personal responsibility and personal decisions for which in principle they are not prepared. And here there is a strong temptation to find a

quick way out of a difficult situation. One of these quick ways out is to return to the old ways. To return to the herd, the group, the environment where you did not one on one with the difficulties.

One of the major peculiarities of populism is the direct contact between the leaders, who have the ability to influence minds and feelings, and the masses without the mediation of political institutions. Moreover, populist leaders frequently arouse and sustain in simple people a feeling that there are bureaucratic barriers between them which keep the people from being completely happy, and thus they skillfully direct all the anger and dissatisfaction that are the consequences of their own activity against the bureaucrats and officials. This was the case in our country under Stalin (the executions of Yagoda, Yezhov, and others and the repressive measures against those who were allegedly overly zealous during collectivization in order to divert suspicion from the main character). Or the mass firings and judicial investigations of high officials in more democratic countries where leaders of a populist persuasion are in power, in order to preserve their image among the people (the most recent example is the "Iran-Contra" affair in the United States in which many high officials sacrificed their careers in order for Reagan to retain his influence). A populist leader can also be outside the power structures as is, say, Lech Walesa in Poland. This phenomenon is also fairly clearly manifested in the informal leadership in our country...

Today a splash of populist attitudes is in evidence. A populist awareness is a truncated awareness that relies on the society's problems that are visible from its vantage point while the entire iceberg of the social organism remains invisible to it. For people sometimes do not see how contradictions arise and where their sources lie. We are actually experiencing a situation that is historically unique to some degree. The desire to modernize the system and reorganize it through peaceful means is coming from above. But so far we have not created the mechanisms necessary for decisive changes. And a paradoxical situation is being created. The old forms are no longer working according to the old logic. No radical decisions are being made. The masses are still not really settled into a political and economic system. Many people know how to do things the old way. They do not know how to do things the new way or sometimes they simply do not want to. And it is difficult to force them. Gorbachev has not had any real possibility of forcing them to act according to the new logic. For as was previously the case: The authorities would make decisions and torpedo them through their bureaucratic labyrinths, the press would report on how well the decrees were being implemented, and everyone would be satisfied. But today the press and the scholars are saying that the decisions are not very good; they are half-baked.... And what about the good decisions—concerning cooperation and leasing—were there not attempts to nullify them? This is discussed openly in the press.... Can this kind of duality do anything but destabilize the society? And the masses, enthusiastic about restructuring, are demanding results. Otherwise the disenchantment will become stronger. Add to this the fact that as a result of the unmasking of the Stalinist system people have lost their old reference points. Hence many people are concerned that is as though there were no past, there still is no present, and the future is uncertain. And this frustration plus the increased impatience—all this brings back memories of the moods of 1917.

[Menshikova] But we have discussed the fact that the people are no longer what they were. We have discussed the awakening of the civic awareness of a civil society. But it seems to me that we should not have any illusions here either. It is important not only to give compliments to the people regarding their activity but also to figure out what is happening in people's awareness without being afraid to speak the truth here. It is no less difficult not to be afraid the of failing to please the people than it is not to be afraid of failing to please the leaders. The more so since our pre-election struggle revealed much, including political careerism of a populist leaning and unrealistic expectations, and an attraction to dependency and leveling.

[Migranyan] Obviously, mass attitudes are becoming more enthusiastic. There is evidence of a readiness to find solutions to problems through redistribution of the wealth. The "Yeltsin phenomenon" is interesting in this respect. Many Muscovites voted for him. True, it must be noted that a large part of the intelligentsia in this case were voting for making the political process more dynamic. A certain part of them were disturbed by the position of the apparatus with respect to Yeltsin.

But it seems to me that in terms of his basic essence he is closer to the masses. One must give his personal qualities their due. He is capable of simplifying complicated problems to the level of mass understanding. Such leaders can grasp mass attitudes and cast them in very simple form. And, of course, it is very important for them in their daily behavior to steadfastly conform to the ideas they have proclaimed.... And Yeltsin does more than just declare. But it should be noted that his behavior at the congress was not adequate to the expectations placed on him by his more ardent supporters and, according to data from sociological questionnaires, his position in the mass consciousness slipped somewhat.

[Menshikova] The critic Alla Latynina correctly noted in one of her dialogues in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA that we have mainly "symbolic thinking." A number of deputies obtained additional "points" merely because they live in a five-story building and were not married to the daughter of an important official.... That is, they were marked by the sign "I am one of you" or "I am yours."

[Migranyan] That is partially true. But this is manifested in different ways in various political cultures. In America, for example, Reagan was almost considered a messiah. But he was a millionaire and lived under excellent conditions.... And the fact that he was called the great

communicator, that he was "a self-made man," that he was not very well educated—there were legends about these things but he was not embarrassed, which brought him even closer to the mass audience. A political leader is always inclined to say that intellectuals fog your brains and that in fact complicated problems have simple solutions....

It seems to me that the situation in the country is paradoxical, the overall psychological situation has changed, and the integrity of past life has disappeared.... All this makes people extremely intolerant. But the most dangerous thing is that it seems to them that the situation can be resolved quickly. Mainly in the mass awareness this phenomenon has been perceived in the trend against important party officials. Tretyakov wrote well about this in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. But he did not discuss the main thing: In Yeltsin's image people see a solution to the problems in the form in which they imagine it. The "Yeltsin understanding" of social justice is the main reason for the mass interest in him. In the mass consciousness lives the idea that the high party official has stolen the wealth and now they must take it away from him and give it back to the people. And they say that the bureaucracy is afraid of restructuring because it requires a redistribution of what has been stolen. And the people do not see any other way than to take it back and redistribute it. We are encountering a new version of the psychology of vulgarized socialism about which Marx wrote.

On the one hand we are trying to destroy leveling and gross egalitarianism and to take the path of greater differentiation, dynamization of the society, and individual responsibility. On the other hand attitudes in favor of leveling are extremely widespread. According to the logic of things, we should make all high-quality kinds of services paid. This could encourage personal labor and the desire to earn money and to make large investments in business. But something quite different is being offered. And even the most progressive deputies have suggested taking everything away and giving it to the unfortunate. But will this help?

Paradoxical as it may be, from the standpoint of economic effectiveness the opportunities for advancement are found in a situation of absolute impasse! Actually, the neoconservative wave that engulfed the West during the seventies was directed against precisely this kind of logic. The state took over more and more functions for the creation of social programs in order to reduce the number of poor through redistribution of incomes. But all this increased the tendencies toward dependency and the bureaucratic army grew—the distributors of state funds. The economic difficulties began to grow as well. And the numbers of poor did not decrease; on the contrary—they increased. During the 1970's conservatives relied on enterprisingness, personal responsibility, work, and the encouragement of dynamic activity, which initially produced even a recession and an increase in the number of unemployed. But conditions were created whereby the fly-wheel of the economy began to turn and produced positive results.

In our country one can observe two processes moving in opposite directions—on the one hand we want to break down the leveling stereotypes, break down the universal "state appropriation of everything and anything," we want to reduce the burden on the state (when the state heaps everything on itself it cannot deal with anything), and on the other hand we are trying under the guise of social justice we are trying to establish this same egalitarianism. We are trying to suppress leveling through the back door, without even thinking that this door leads nowhere.

[Menshikova] Here one must perhaps agree with you. You will notice that recently more and more frequently there has been a comparison of our life with life in the West, but mainly according to the principle of "who lives better" and there are very few who make the argument about "who works better and more"... .In general today we think more not about how to work but about how to divide up evenly that which we do not have. Not "how to produce," but "how to distribute".... Can we allow ourselves to think of how to make things equally bad for everyone? One gets the impression that equality in poverty would suit everyone.... It seems to me that herein lies the essence of the irritation against cooperators and against any privileges.

[Migranyan] But, after all, this has already happened, and when there was nothing left to redistribute, the repressive measures began. As a result the country was transformed into a prison camp. Some of the people ended up inside the barbed wire and others were formally outside it but they were no less enslaved. Total terror, total mobilization, total war—people lived in these circumstances for decades. All the righteous slogans were perverted: promises of peace turned into endless war with our own people, promises of social justice—the lowest standard of living.... Alas, realized utopia is anti-utopia. In "Chevengur" Platonov showed how they wanted to realize a bright society with contradictions resolved and how this developed into a monstrous commune where everything that was normal and human was transformed into its opposite. And not only the human things. Houses were no longer houses, gardens were no longer gardens, and even the sun ceased being the sun....

Tocqueville wrote well about this when analyzing the results of the French revolution—the people are making rapid strides in the direction of freedom but his psychology and passionate desires were based on equality and freedom. Therefore I think that since the people do not see any real improvement in terms of inequality but they do see improvement in affluence, they resort to another radical means—they want to establish equality immediately through redistribution.

With respect to the embodiment of populist attitudes it seems to me that the figure of Gdlyan is interesting. After Yeltsin he had the largest number of votes in Moscow. In the eyes of the people he embodies some punitive symbol of justice. He is fighting against "them." And he can return the money to the people. The opinion has become widespread that such people can just force and power to establish "law and order." By no means closing my eyes to the embezzlement and corruption that has become monstrous in scale over past decades, I still think that these attitudes contain very dangerous tendencies in precisely this stage of the life of our society.

People who show up and say that they know precisely what must be done and will show you exactly how to do it—they can be followed. But this will most likely be a fatal path. The only hope is that these attitudes will give impetus to the reform so that it will get going.

A Step to the Left, a Step to the Right

[Menshikova] But in your opinion is there a danger that events will get out of control? Some people are concerned about this....

[Migranyan] There are three laws here. They were also formulated by Tocqueville on the basis of an analysis of the French revolution. (Tocqueville is a great mind. Dostoevskiy knew him well and the ideas of Shigalev in "The Demons" were borrowed from him. His book "On Democracy in America" was published in 1835 and brought him great notoriety. He considered the interaction between political power and the society, the relationship between freedom and equality, and the problems of bureaucratization of the state and human rights. Tocqueville's liberal ideas exerted a great influence on social thought in the West and on political science. His work "The Old Order and the Revolution" was translated into Russian in 1918. He was an extremely penetrating investigator.) His judgments seem interesting to me. First, the French, trying to achieve freedom by the most rapid means, forgot that as early as the 14th century there was a saying among the people that the shortest path to freedom inevitably leads to slavery. The Jacobins tried to achieve freedom through terror. Second, a revolution takes place not when things are bad and becoming unbearable, but when it is possible to live and one wants things to be better. But if oppression decreases sensitivity increases. This revolutionizes consciousness.

Third, there is nothing more difficult than periods in a country's development when transitions are being made from one condition to another. Using modern terminology, one can say the transition from totalitarian-authoritarian regimes to democratic ones. As rule, if there is no long tradition of democracy, i.e. the threat that along the path of transition the process will get out of control, this is when ochlocratic passions flare up. Inflamed and uncontrolled passions can lead to the need to squelch them. There arises a need for strong authority, which can tame this outburst and establish law and order, to the great satisfaction of the majority who are tired of the disorder. And then the situation is pushed far backward. This is what happened in France after the great French Revolution. When the process is not always directed and energetic from above, from below there is possible activation of processes that can produce fatal results.

Today we observe that there is more democracy, but we are increasingly feeling the pain of the hobbles and fetters that bind us. Under Stalin, with complete suppression, the society did not have this sensitivity, but today when human dignity, honor, and civic pride are being awakened, any attempt to hold them in check has difficult consequences. Aspects of self-control, self-discipline, and the responsibility of those forces who exert an influence of the perestroyka process from below are important here.

[Menshikova] This self-discipline is what we do not have enough of. Intolerance leads to outbursts of emotion. But there are organizations that deliberately increase tension and, moreover, see this as their main goal. To the traditional list which includes Pamyat and Demsoyuz one can add new groups with exotic names like "anarchosyndicalists".... Populists are actively taking advantage of nationalist feelings also....

[Migranyan] I would include here those who speak out in favor of seceding from the USSR or those who demand confederation structures, bypassing the federation, as well as those who demand immediate freedom. They provide additional arguments for the conservative forces who want to abort the process that has begun.

And therefore it is important to have a certain counter movement. It is important to have a constructive enlistment of democratic forces from below who are oriented toward support of initiative from above. But this requires the adoption of important laws—concerning the press and social organizations. All associations in support of restructuring that might arise should rest on the law. And since there is no law this makes it possible for local leaders to block the movement from below—if we wish to we shall permit it and if we do not we shall not. The lack of a law concerning freedom of the press also paralyzes the connection between the upper levels and the masses who support restructuring. For it is possible to put pressure on the press at any moment and then the forces above who are carrying out the reform are left without support from below.

[Menshikova] Even before the 19th Party Conference in the press, including on the pages of our newspaper, commentators and scholars were expressing the idea of the need for organizations in support of restructuring. And it is true that if there were no people's fronts it would be worthwhile to invent them. And, incidentally, in places where the local leadership is not afraid of these independent movements from below (and they are most frequently headed by communists, intellectuals, and

socially active people) there is less disorder. Democratization cannot be free of conflict, but today's stormy upheavals are dangerous. How do we surmount this contradiction?

[Migranyan] By overcoming the random element, giving civilized forms to the people's political energy that is released with restructuring. Moreover, I am convinced that if there is no pressure from below, if there is no alliance between the upper echelon that is implementing the reform and mass support through independent activity, the bureaucracy might block everything.

Reform oriented leaders need a broader mass base, but it must not be random but organized. After all, compromises are possible only through harmonizing interests. Otherwise we will have a false unanimity. We shall receive reports of the support offered by obliging officials. And then we shall separate the people from the normal political process. We shall not be able to adequately assess the interests in the society and reconcile them. Interests must not be driven inward, they must be "cultivated."

It is interesting that it has seemed to superficial observers that traditional democracies have been very full of conflicts. It seemed strange that the societies did not fall apart. But more thorough investigators, particularly Spengler, who warned the Germans against blindly copying English principles of political organization, and said: You will understand that the British really are pursuing their own interests, sometimes selfish ones, and interests collide.... But the society is stable because deep inside it there is a profound consensus among all interests. Individual rights and freedoms, political institutions, and the principles of their organization are the basis of the consensus, that which makes the nation cohesive.... And this is an organic, not a mechanical cohesiveness.

Spengler's warnings were prophetic to some degree. The short period of the development of the Weimar Republic showed that the freedoms and democratic rights did not enter into the flesh and blood of the social life. And therefore subsequent crisis polarized the society, and this led to the Germans' making the right-wing totalitarian selection.

[Menshikova] It is curious how people in our country perceive freedom and democracy. For some there is too much freedom and for others not enough. Where does the truth lie?

[Migranyan] The process of democratization is a very complicated process. And a democratic society is a complicated society. Throughout the many centuries of history various nations have tried to realize a principle that provides for two elements of democracy—effective participation of the entire society in the management of the state and the prevention of the concentration of uncontrolled power in certain hands. And what we are trying to do today is return to the main path of human history in the sphere of state construction.

Is it necessary to reinvent the wheel? There are models which we can apply to ourselves, taking our historical experience into account. For many years we radically broke with the tradition of human history, with the model of the creation of a rule-of-law state. And this led to a situation where we created a mechanism similar to the Greek polis democracy where there were no guarantees of minority rights and a person who disagreed was simply driven out.... In essence the rule was the tyranny of the majority. But if this kind of democracy was possible in the polis, on the scale of one-sixth of the globe an attempt to develop a common will ended up in total alienation of everyone from the authority and their submission to depersonalized state institutions, which gave their own interpretation and articulation of the popular will. But the specific interests of the people could not be manifested within the framework of this "will." And today we shall have to patiently create democratic institutions and mechanisms of "checks and balances," share the functions of power, and introduce guarantees of human rights. And it is important for the reform and for our consciousness to understand that we are a part of world history and we must also travel the path of the creation of mechanisms of effective power, over which the best minds have struggled over the millennia.

[Menshikova] But this will take time. And here is the question: Will the society be able to withstand the prolonged strain, the duration of the transitional period?

[Migranyan] I do not think our society has been imbued with an awareness of the need for a transition period. We cannot cut through stages—our president frequently speaks about this. The need for a sequential process can be illustrated with the example of Hungary and Poland. When we address the experience of these countries we forget that they undertook to modernize their society more than 30 years ago. It was 30 years ago that they began to create institutions independent of the state. Moreover, there have always been various forms of property there. The peasants still had private ownership of the land. The traditional ways of life were not destroyed as they were in our country during the thirties.

Hungary and Poland created a civil society, without which it is impossible to change over to real democracy. But many people who use these countries as an example and want us to create these structures immediately do not understand that for many years we have been chopping everything off at the root—never before has there been such complete totalitarianism. In practice we are merely creating the embryos of horizontal structures and associations of people according to their interests—independent associations according to professional and social interests. The entire economic and social sphere is still in the hands of the state. Only now is there a

loosening of these rigid state vertical lines of command, a "withdrawal of the state" from these spheres. The process has only begun. And we must abandon that we will be able to carry out restructuring quickly.

There is the idea of a transition to democracy through an authoritarian democracy, whereby the authorities, restricting freedom within certain limits, must create the necessary constituents of a civic society which will be able to take over the functions of self-management.

Something About Concentrated Power

[Menshikova] I know that you have already had occasion to express to various audiences the idea that the real leader of restructuring now needs a great deal of authority. Not everyone shares this opinion. Many see in it an invitation to authoritarianism.

[Migranyan] But I am convinced that the leader's needs great authority in order for the reform to be more effective. He must be independent of party officials. The existing authority structure is not capable of making a breakthrough. In general, it seems to me, radical reforms cannot be conducted through oligarchy. And, after all, today we must not preserve the situation but provide for greater dynamism of restructuring. The election of Gorbachev by the congress is to a certain degree already a mandate from the people. The president is becoming a political leader with a source of legitimization other than the high party officials, who has the potential for decisionmaking and forming a team independent of the apparatus.

Incidentally, the experience of Hungary and Poland is speaks very eloquently here again. In Hungary the leadership from above has deliberately directed this process, although corrections have had to be made taking into account the unfavorable situation in our country. Still they have managed without catastrophes or cataclysms to prepare the entire necessary infrastructure for modernization. But in Poland that lack of consistency of steps from above has led to a situation where they created public expectations, there was a polarization of forces, and the authorities ended up in opposition to the movement of the lower levels which they themselves created. As a result there were conflicts that set the country back. There was a conflict under Gomulka who became a conservative among the reformers. There was a conflict under Gierek when the reform was not reinforced by real steps. The society's temperature rose. As a result there was uncontrolled Solidarity, a mass movement with goals that were unrealistic for that period. There was a national crisis and 8 years of torment that were lost to Poland before the society came to the conclusion that it was necessary to move toward national accord. But during these years the economic situation deteriorated....

All these are the costs of modernization when the revolution comes from above, when it is not purposeful enough, and when it does not have adequate responses to appeals coming from below. As a result, in one instance we see relatively successful modernization as was the case in Hungary, and in the other instance we see a path with upheavals with sacrifices and disenchantment.

[Menshikova] And how do you feel about the idea that we have a class struggle going on? And it sounds different coming from different people. In "nationally oriented," as it were, circles they are saying that the bureaucracy is opposing the people, and the intelligentsia is correspondingly divided up into popular and antipopular. They also mention the class interests of the bureaucratic apparatus in its attempts to oppose restructuring and put the brakes on the reform. In you view, how correct are these ideas?

[Migranyan] The idea of the bureaucracy as a class is very primitive. If it is a class, then why not again call for a class war? Another knock-down drag-out? But we need not another class struggle but a change in the system of total alienation of everyone and everything. In general I am convinced that a totalitarian regime does not have various classes. It is one class in the form of the people alienated from themselves. Under Stalinism all the intermediate levels between man and the authorities were destroyed and he was left one on one against the Leviathan.

But how can that be?—you will say. What about the collective? But the fact is that a person was not included in collective ties by his own choice; he was assigned to them—the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Young Communist League], the trade union, the plant from which he could not be discharged.... The collectives performed functions of additional control by the authorities as an instrument of the state, its power, and its pressure on the individual.... In the age of the flourishing of Stalinist democracy total surveillance of one another, surveillance so that everyone conformed to everything, was a common phenomenon. Now a great deal is being written about the fact that Stalin relied on the lumpen, on the bureaucracy.... That is nonsense! Stalin relied on power. Stalinism is immense power in a situation of universal powerlessness. This is why the most terrible things for Stalinism were independent associations of people.

If one uniformly and directly applies the method of class analysis of today's social contradictions this will inevitably lead to oversimplifications. For Marx could not even presume that a state could be created in which the people would not partake of the ownership and power, he could not anticipate Stalinism which created a system of suppression of the individual.

[Menshikova] In the speeches of some of the deputies one could clearly see not only leveling but also a xenophobia, a refusal to accept, say, the idea of joint enterprises and contacts with the West. Yet this position also relies on public opinion.

[Migranyan] It seems to me that this is more an attempt to pass off one's own views (also populist) for the people's, for their basic goals. In the transitional period there can be conflicts of the most varied interests among the people. If we want to enter the flow of world civilization the people must have new values. We must either go forward or regress. Or else they say that so and so has sold out to the bureaucrats and someone else to the Masons. Absurd. The question is this: Either we return to the home of mankind or we remain in isolation from the world where we can revel in our unique and declining life. Chaadayev in a dispute with Khomyakov argued as follows: "as though our good, tolerant, merciful Russia cannot be loved without hating everything else..." In another place he expressed this idea in a somewhat different form: They say that Russia is neither the East nor the West; it is the entire world. I will believe that only when you show that there is something besides the East and West.... Incidentally, such attitudes of "specialness" are typical of the intelligentsia of third-world countries that are experiencing the process of modernization. There also are many people who do not accept the industrial civilization, who do not accept ideas of personal freedom.... Incidentally, truncated Marxism in its Stalinist interpretation fit in excellently with the Russian idea, for the idea that we are the Chosen People was replaced by another idea that we were the elect. Here again was a return to Russian messianism—a special country, a special purpose; we shall save the world by changing it socially.

[Menshikova] The years of Stalinist isolation and the implantation of the idea of our being chosen apparently did not pass without a trace. Is this not why the nationalist forces have merged with the Stalinists today?

[Migranyan] As equally conservative tendencies. To say that there is a bureaucracy and there is a popular and a nonpopular intelligentsia means to build more fences. It seems to me that the truly popular person is the one who offers the most effective ways of overcoming slavery, a spiritual void, a lack of civic pride—that is, the restoration of a number of qualities that were destroyed in people by the totalitarian regime. To come into their own and know who they are.

[Menshikova] And the last thing. Is populism good or bad?

[Migranyan] There is much that is attractive and much that is dangerous in populism. Any mass involvement of people should have very responsible political leaders who should either be in charge of it or try to use this movement or try to oppose it. They should make a clear distinction and promptly respond to these attitudes and eliminate destructive aspects. Populism can become either a locomotive for renewal or a braking device.

Yakovlev on Importance of Glasnost, Restructuring

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[Text] A member of the Soviet Communist Party's Politburo, Aleksandr Yakovlev, has said that the essence of perestroyka is in affirming the power of the people and in democratizing the socialist society. He was addressing graduates of the Political Sciences Institute of the Central Committee in Moscow. Under socialism, he said, the people should know all. This is only possible with glasnost. The 4 past years have resulted in an unprecedently deep and open analysis of the present situation. Criticism was prevailing, but that was a necessary compensation for the decades of silence or ungrounded optimism. Now, said Aleksandr Yakovlev, we need constructive criticism that can help tap new resources and society's potential.

Official Views Glasnost in Foreign Ministry

18070672 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jun 89 p 15

[Interview with V.L. Milyayev, deputy chief of the General Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and editor-in-chief of the VESTNIK MID SSSR: "Glasnost in Diplomacy"]

[Text] **Not long ago the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MFA] was a closed book for the uninitiated. Owing to restructuring, areas that were closed to criticism are disappearing and the activity of our diplomatic service is being explained more widely. Today V.L. Milyayev, deputy chief of the General Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and editor-in-chief of the journal VESTNIK MID SSSR, is a guest of our editorial office.**

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Vitaliy Leonidovich, the MFA previously did without its own publication. Our press reported on foreign policy in considerable detail, and this situation seemed quite natural. Why has the ministry suddenly decided to publish its own journal?

[Milyayev] First of all, a slight clarification. In the 1920's and 1930's the NKID [People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs] published several periodicals at once. The prerevolutionary Ministry of Foreign Affairs also had its own IZVESTIYA and, by the way, it was a rather serious, fundamental publication. Thus, our journal is not really an innovation, but the reemergence of an interrupted tradition.

Now, about why it is necessary. Our press actually gives a lot of attention to foreign policy questions. Some event occurs; for example, a political figure comes out with an important announcement. The wire service, from its point of view, selects the most interesting excerpts from the announcement and disseminates them throughout the world with its commentaries. Afterwards journalists read the wire service reports and write articles based on them in which they set forth their own understanding of events. As a result, the reader does not get primary source information, but second source commentaries.

Of course, the commentaries are necessary. But also, "pure" information is needed. VESTNIK'S main task is the publication of documents and materials from primary

sources to the extent possible without any cuts and abridgements. We try to adhere to this rule strictly. VESTNIK, for example, was the only Soviet publication that published the entire complex of agreements on intermediate and short range missiles [INF], including the memorandum which indicates missile deployment sites.

The document—the text of the international agreement and the speech of a statesman—is very informative. It is another matter that it is not very easy to read. It has to be studied and analyzed.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] This means that your journal is intended for specialists—for scholars and diplomats.

[Milyayev] Not entirely. Of course, VESTNIK is read first and foremost by professionals. The journal, for example, is of great interest to foreign diplomats, correspondents of foreign newspapers and journals, and even representatives of business firms, who work in Moscow. Some embassies immediately subscribed to several copies of VESTNIK.

But it is not only diplomats who are interested in the journal. In becoming familiar with the editorial mail, I must admit that I unexpectedly discovered how many people there are in our country who are not engaged in foreign policy, but who understand foreign affairs very well. Moreover, I think that as our society becomes democratized, the number of such people will only grow. In addition, VESTNIK publishes materials that are of interest to a wide circle of readers, let us say, under the "Pages of History" rubric.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Your last sentence, I would say, prompts a puzzling question. Many historians now complain that departmental archives do not issue documents that are necessary to their research. Passions seethe and opinions collide around the "blank spots" in history, but the ministries, in particular their official organs, remain silent. How can this be explained? How many lances, for example, were broken over the secret protocol to the Soviet-German nonaggression pact of 23 August 1939? Why should not VESTNIK MID publish this protocol?

[Milyayev] The fact is that no one has found such a document yet. More precisely, up to the present time, the original copy of the protocol about which you speak has not been found in Soviet or foreign archives. In the West, a photocopy was published which was found by the Americans at the end of the war in one of the alternate German archives. But not having the original text, it is not possible to make an official publication.

Unfortunately, up until now in our country there is no single principle for publishing archival documents. In other countries, a time limit has been placed on the release of documents; for example, after 20, 25, 30 or 50 years. As far as I know, work has been started in our country in preparation for opening the archives relating to the first years of Soviet diplomacy.

I believe it is necessary to shore oneself up with patience, everything in due time, especially since we do have some interesting historical documents. For example, is it true that the fascist German Ambassador Von (Schulenberg) informed V.M. Molotov about the impending attack on the USSR? Would you be interested in knowing this?

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Unquestionably.

[Milyayev] Then look for our historical section heading.

Or another example. Recently glasnost has also been penetrating into our military sphere. Information is being published on the Soviet Armed Forces, and data have been published on military expenditures. And it turns out that in the 1920's and 1930's we had accumulated valuable experience in this sphere, and some commonsense ideas were expressed that have not lost their meaning for today. We plan to publish the most interesting documents on this problem.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Vitaliy Leonidovich, and what is the status of glasnost in the MFA itself? Can VESTNIK play any kind of positive role in this respect?

[Milyayev] Allow me to ask a question in response. Do you know any part of the internal structure of our ministry? If you are not an employee, then I think not. And to explain it is not that simple. So, VESTNIK started with the publication of the entire MFA structure, indicating the names of all deputy ministers, members of boards, and chiefs of departments and administrations. Can this be counted as a manifestation of glasnost?

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] We would say that this is a step in the direction of glasnost.

[Milyayev] Then let us go on. I recently read an article in IZVESTIYA about the restricted "Zavidovo" preserve where our former leaders liked to hunt. The author of the article was justifiably indignant that there was so much secrecy surrounding the preserve, as if it were a missile base. The MFA did not acquire its own preserve, but we also have two "special facilities"—a detached house on Aleksey Tolstoy Street and a country place Meshcherino.

If we had held our conversation about 4 years ago, then after such an "information leak" I would at least have been given a severe reprimand. The situation is different now. Last year VESTNIK published an article which explained when and why the house on Aleksey Tolstoy Street was turned over to the NKID [People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs] and what its fate was. Now this building is used for negotiations, consultations, and meetings with the diplomatic corps. Important document-signing ceremonies are held there frequently. The separate building has quite a few artistic treasures that

are maintained with museum-like attention. By the way, this can be judged from photographs that were published in VESTNIK. Similar material about Meshcherino was recently published in an issue of the journal.

Since last year, we have been publishing information on new appointments to the MFA, biographic data on our diplomats. So now the public itself can make judgments about those who represent us abroad and whether these people are suitable or minions of fortune.

VESTNIK regularly publishes the speeches of E.A. Shevardnadze at internal working meetings and ministerial conferences. Before, one could not even mention such things. In this respect, it seems to me that the MFA has gone farther than many other departments. We are gradually reaching the point of showing the domestic "kitchen" of Soviet diplomacy, and the process of arriving at foreign policy decisions.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] You are not only the editor-in-chief and consequently a journalist, but also a professional diplomat. What do you think about the fact that other publications recently have been not so much rebuking as, let us say, lightly chiding the MFA from time to time?

[Milyayev] Let us look into why they are chiding us. If, for example, someone was dealt with rudely, or was not helped, or met with red tape—this is absolutely disgraceful. After such publications, the MFA held a zealous examination and the culprits were severely punished. But this kind of criticism was heard, if I am not mistaken, two or three times all told.

Or, let us say, they are criticizing things in the past, and they write that protectionism and nepotism flourished in the MFA which is also true, and it did happen. And it happens sometimes today. But our personnel service fights against this diligently.

But I have almost never encountered qualified criticism of the strictly diplomatic, foreign policy work of the MFA.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] But how can it be done if the MFA does not share information on foreign policy questions?

[Milyayev] Allow me here not to agree with you. The visit of M.S. Gorbachev to Great Britain took place not long ago. In reporting on this event, VESTNIK published an account of the visit, the texts of the main speeches, and a summary of the most important conversations, and, finally, a chronicle of the visit. I cannot imagine what other information about this event we would report, even if we could. Recordings of confidential conversations? But that is why they are called confidential, and why the parties have agreed not to make them public. What else? Curiosities and anecdotes? But, in the first place, the MFA does not collect them, and, second, the jouralists can cope with this without us.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] It turns out that you are satisfied with the content of your journal?

[Milyayev] Honestly speaking, not yet. You see VESTNIK, in fact, is still in its infancy. We created a new journal, a special audience has appeared, and the range of topics has more or less developed itself. But this is only the first step. Many ideas have been generated about how to improve the content of the journal, and the form of presentation of the material. There is an idea to prepare a subject appendix to VESTNIK. We are thinking about whether or not to prepare a special biographical issue, a kind of "Who's Who" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" almanac.

Finally, we have a proposal of several Western firms to translate VESTNIK into the English language for distribution abroad. If we decided to do this, it will be necessary to edit the contents of the journal carefully, taking into account the questions of the Western reader.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Suppose someone took an interest in what you said and decided to start reading VESTNIK. How can the journal be obtained?

[Milyayev] As a rule, it is sold in "Soyuzpechat" [Union Publishers] kiosks. Not everywhere, of course, but only in Moscow, Leningrad, and in the capitals of the union republics. The most reliable method is to arrange for a subscription. This became a possibility this year.

Party Intrusion Into Komsomol Affairs Hit

PM3006110989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 89 p 1

["Our correspondent" A. Lapin report under the rubric "Issues of the Moment": "The Komsomol's Answer Was 'No!'"]

[Text] The organizational question appeared third on the agenda of the Sixth Kazakh Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee Plenum. But the most tumultuous arguments developed when that question was discussed, and a most surprising decision was made. Briefly speaking, its effect might be summarized thus: to turn down the request by S. Darmenbayev, secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee, that he be relieved of his duties in connection with his reassignment.

Thus, the plenum unambiguously clarified a matter which had dragged on and on. Its essence is simple, and all Komsomol workers would probably find it easily comprehensible. Each one of them knows that his future largely depends on the development of his mutual relations with

the party committee apparatus. These relations are often built on the principle of "We like him, we like him not." Consequently, those who are not liked depart.

But, as one of the Central Committee members who spoke at the plenum put it: "We all experienced a spiritual revolution following the First Congress of People's Deputies."

This was why, when the question of the departure of a young, energetic, and imaginative worker from the Komsomol was put on the agenda, the Central Committee members decided on a full investigation of the situation which had developed. It then emerged that some totally different motives were hidden behind "his own request."

Things were far from easy for the Komsomol leader when he came under pressure. He was being blamed for everything. It was even claimed that he was not properly educated...

But the main accusation involved unskilled leadership of the youth press. According to a Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolution, "The republic's youth press recently published a series of biased, ideologically inconsistent, and at times clearly provocative articles which promoted the emergence of sundry rumors and conjectures, incorrectly guided public opinion, and had a negative effect on the processes of young people's ideological and moral education."

It is possible that the young newsmen did make some mistakes. But the question is: Is this a reason to suggest that a Komsomol Central Committee secretary should resign from the job to which he was appointed by a congress? Let me emphasize this: by the Kazakh Komsomol CONGRESS. And yet, there has been so much talk about the fact that party committees must respect the youth league's organizational autonomy....

In general, all plenum participants who spoke on this question emphasized that, essentially, this was not a matter concerning just one person—it concerns the immunity [zashchishchennost] of Komsomol leaders.

The following example was cited. Five Komsomol Central Committee secretaries have already been replaced since the last Kazakh Komsomol congress... The following questions were discussed: Why is it, for example, that only a party member can become first secretary of a rayon Komsomol committee? Why is it that Komsomol workers are often part of the party committee nomenklatura? Is it not time to abandon this form of dependence?

This plenum was altogether unusual for the Kazakh Komsomol. For the first time in its history alternate candidates were being nominated for the vacant offices of Central Committee secretary and free elections were held.

Following the plenum a meeting took place between N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, N. Paltsev, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, and S. Kondybayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee. The "sides" noted: All party committees must rigorously adhere to the 19th party conference directives regarding the Komsomol's autonomy.

Estonian Gosplan Chairman Otsason Interviewed

18001288 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy, Chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic State Planning Committee R.A. Otsason, by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA special correspondent M. Rostarchuk: "Live Within Our Means, Be Responsible for Ourselves"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] At the Congress of People's Deputies, the Estonian delegation presented the USSR Draft Law "On the Transition of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to Republic Economic Accountability (Economic Independence)." Just as in Lithuania, in Estonia a corresponding law has already been passed by the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

This model of republic economic accountability, the Baltic model, as it is referred to, has many proponents as well as opponents. It has caused an array of serious objections in central economic departments. At the request of the editorial office of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, USSR People's Deputy, Chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] R. Otsason comments on controversial points.

[Correspondent] Reyn Augustovich, first let us talk about general provisions. How would you describe in brief the essence of this economic model?

[Otsason] The essence of republic economic accountability is living within our means, that is, being fully responsible for the economic and social development of Estonia, as well as executing duly and in a timely manner all the obligations of the republic to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, other republics, and regions on the basis of reciprocity.

We have not been able to comply with this simple principle—living within our means—even at the level of our country. Not only do we take foreign loans, but we also borrow from the populace. When we destroy the natural environment or sell raw materials abroad, we borrow from our children. When we put in circulation money not covered by the deliveries of goods, we forcibly take the money away from the toilers. When we pay low retirement benefits, we borrow from old people, dooming them to undeserved hardship in life. In a word, living within our means is no small feat.

Let us admit another fact: The entire country cannot live within its means if its individual parts do not live by this principle. When M.S. Gorbachev was in Estonia more than 2 years ago, we discussed with him the issue of how much is imported to and how much is exported from Estonia. To be sure, we used TsSU [Central Statistical Administration] statistics, which, as is known, are not accurate in many cases. However, the way in which the issue was raised was interesting, and the conclusion unambiguous: The republic had to consider whether it was living within its means or not.

Here is a curious detail: When we calculated the contributions by other republics to the union budget using Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] data, it turned out that 13 out of 15 republics had a deficit. Later on, we figured out that the Goskomstat calculations were based on erroneous methods and imprecise data. This prompted us to develop a model of republic economic accountability.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, what is its fundamental principle? What is the main shortcoming of the current union economic system?

[Otsason] The principle of designing republic and union budgets is the key. At present, the republics, regions, oblasts, cities, or settlements do not have their own budgets. The central echelon determines everything. For example, we have to coordinate with Moscow the amount of housing, schools, and day-care centers to be built, and the amount of permissible outlays for running them. When requests from the field are accepted, the republics are "given as a gift" some of their own proceeds. This profoundly contradicts the logic of designing a budget.

The republic itself should generate its revenues and determine expenditures in keeping with them. For this, the republic should first of all have reliable income. Therefore, it must be clearly set forth which part of it belongs to the republic. Once this is done, the republic will begin to struggle for increasing all possible sources of revenue, be it individual labor activities, cooperatives, or enterprises reporting to the union or the republic. All of them will be equally liked.

[Correspondent] However, the draft "General Principles of Restructuring the Management of the Economy and the Social Sphere of Union Republics on the Basis of Expanding Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing" developed in Moscow provide exactly for transferring a great segment of enterprise revenues to the republic budgets.

[Otsason] The "General Principles" propose the following approach: say, an enterprise reporting to the union pays 40 percent of its profit to the republic budget, and an enterprise reporting to the republic—90 to 95 percent. However, this is automatic distribution. To be sure, you can also do planning this way, but a system is created whereby some children are "liked more" than others. Even the directors of union enterprises tell me: "We are going to be stepchildren for the republic again."

We have come to this conclusion: All payments by all enterprises located in the territory of the republic should go to the republic budget, and the republic will pay a joint union contribution, the sum which is necessary to defray all-state expenditures. This would mean greater economic independence for the republics in the overall system of economic management. At the same time, this would provide an opportunity for the republics to control the feasibility of all-union expenditures. Certainly, this is not welcomed by the USSR Minfin [Ministry of Finance] which would like to avoid genuine democratic control over its activities. However, this very provision is the subject of the argument with the central echelon.

I would like to note that in the course of discussion on our concept of republic economic accountability many unsound objections bordering on fabrication have been raised.

[Correspondent] Perhaps you count the following among them: If all enterprises throughout the country stop paying a set percentage of their profit directly to the state budget, the latter will become unstable.

[Otsason] The republics will make contributions to the union budget first of all, and only after that will they think about their expenditures. This means that the state budget will not depend on the performance of individual enterprises. Actually, the republic will be a guarantor. Meanwhile, all over the world they believe that the more formidable the guarantor, the more reliable the source of income is.

[Correspondent] One frequently heard the following opinion: Your model of republic economic accountability brings about autarky.

[Otsason] It is not so, either. Our model is aimed exactly at promoting the creation of a new type of mutual economic relations between republics, and increasing the mutual interest of republics in the deliveries of goods of the kind and quality they need. As we see it, under the kind of economic accountability based on the equivalent exchange of goods, we create a maximum of interest in a genuine development of integration processes rather than autarky. We have already started preparing for integration, because we are planning to switch to economic accountability effective 1 January 1990.

Here is one of the approaches. We should improve the quality of products, and this depends on how successful we are in reconstructing the main sectors of the national economy of our republic. This can only be done on the basis of scientific-technical progress. This is why it is the foremost task of an economically accountable republic to develop the scientific-technical potential and enlist it in serving production. We have already begun determining

what needs to be done in this sphere, and how domestic and foreign scientific-technical accomplishments are to be used. It is impossible to overlook the fact that such work will ultimately bring about the enhancement of integration processes.

As we see it, scientific-technical cooperation between republics should continue to develop, but on a foundation which is new in principle. Funds for the scientific-progress should be expended by agreement with the republics. They will agree to expenditures for state programs if they see value in it for their economy. However, if the departments still want to manage their funds without control, the regions will not give them a penny. This is fair if we recall, say, the project of diverting northern rivers, or the failed program of computerizing the entire country—billions of rubles were spent uselessly. We would like all all-union programs to be adopted in the manner in which it is done within the CEMA: The parties come to an agreement and determine what is advantageous, and what is not, and set their contributions accordingly. Then there will be both responsibility and utility.

[Correspondent] They argue that chaos will come if breaking the union "vertical lines" of command is initiated right now....

[Otsason] I would like to remind such economic panic-mongers how the sovnarkhozes [councils of national economy] were set up. There was no severing of established economic ties, and there were no catastrophic consequences of any kind. Moreover, under the sovnarkhoz system the rate of economic development of Estonia was the highest, and the social policy was the best conceived. It was exactly under the sovnarkhoz system that quite a few large, at present union, enterprises—active participants in integration—were created in our republic. This is why we believe that a transition to economic accountability by our or some other republic will not bring about any shock in the national economic complex.

In order to ensure a smooth transition, in the first several years we should adhere to the principle of stability of the economic ties which have emerged, and modify them only by a mutual agreement of the parties. New economic links which will replace the existing ones will develop gradually.

Here is an example: During my election campaign, I was told at a refrigerator car depot that fish meal was exported from Estonia to the Far East, and it was advantageous for the depot because from the Far East they carried...fish meal, but this time to Estonia. Any economist knows that in the union one by and large encounters such nonsensical streams of freight. Therefore, if someone is afraid of a transition to more efficient economic links, he should simply abandon managing the national economy.

[Correspondent] At the congress, several deputies representing the republics with developed raw material industries talked about current prices for raw materials being unfair, and the transition of other republics to economic accountability putting the former republics at an extreme disadvantage.

[Otsason] They are right in that we indeed need to eliminate the existing discrimination of raw material industries. Is it normal that republics producing raw materials, which are also highly valued in the world market, happen to be the main debtors of the budget? However, a transition to world prices is a measure so serious, and it calls for a change in economic relations so revolutionary that it cannot be attained immediately. This is why we need transitional prices, say, such as are used in settlements between CEMA countries.

Certainly, it is simpler to say: This is so difficult to do; let us go on living as we have. Meanwhile, switching to world prices and gradually becoming part of the world market is the most economically efficient way of economic development for the entire country. However, such a transition will be possible once the economy of individual regions and republics and their economic links have already been restructured.

As far as the specific arrangements for solving this problem are concerned, in Estonia we hold the following opinion. We may designate an array of basic raw materials and products (this will be a relatively small set) for which single union prices (of course, increased for raw materials) will be maintained. Prices for the rest of the goods should be strictly contractual.

[Correspondent] In the law on republic economic accountability, many people were alarmed by the chapter "Property," which says that "within the confines set by the law, small-scale private property is allowed."

[Otsason] This alarm is the fruit of love for abstract discussions. After all, in itself the provision on small-scale private property does not bring about the reproduction of private property. This is just a new name for what actually exists at present. At present, we do not draw a distinction between the means of production which constitute individual property, and the personal means of consumption. For example, a person has a car or some machine tool which he also uses as a means of production. Therefore, we propose to refer to the means of production which constitute personal property as small-scale private property which forms the basis for commercial production by private individuals—that is, call a spade a spade rather than the shadow of a spade. This does not cause any profound changes in the status of the means of production. Incidentally, we may recall that in the GDR and Hungary, hired labor using the means of production constituting personal property is allowed. We are not proposing this, despite this being hired labor of a different quality than under capitalism. After all, it exists under the conditions of socialism.

[Correspondent] The law on the economically accountable republic includes a novelty in the wording on the leasing form of property of peasants....

[Otsason] Indeed, in the Estonian SSR the land is now allotted to the peasants for eternal use, and, as a rule, is inherited according to the established procedures. If a person invests his effort and his soul in the family lot of land, he should be confident that the parcel will be inherited by his children. Certainly, in this matter we take into account the national traditions which in Estonia differ from, say, Russia. In our republic, the hamlet system is deeply rooted.

[Correspondent] There is the opinion that, if one model of economic accountability is in effect in one republic, and another one in another republic, they would not dovetail, just as electronic circuits of different designs do not go together.

[Otsason] If we were to regard the entire country as a large computer, as a unitary state, then, certainly, we do not need independent republics, and republic economic accountability is not in order, to say nothing of various kinds of it. However, this means that the economic independence of republics and regions is merely proclaimed. Genuine restructuring calls for establishing such economic links that independence would exist, and at the same time a mechanism of interaction on the scale of an entire country would be operational. Our model of economic accountability provides for that. The root of reluctance to accept the model is in the fact that economic links are established between republics, which certainly makes the central organs and departments fearful. However, it is exactly the interrepublic links that are going to be more reliable and effective than the ministerial "vertical lines of command," because they are going to be direct and contractual. The central echelon should not be concerned with what the republics are doing inside their economies.

[Correspondent] The concept of introducing a republic currency caused the most heated discussion.

[Otsason] I would like to clarify this right away. We are not talking about a closed currency, but such a currency which will be most closely connected with the all-union one, the ruble, based on mutual convertibility and the privileged status of the ruble.

As far as the opponents are concerned, I myself would like to ask them a question: How can the mechanisms of market regulation be used, and goods-and-money relations developed in the absence of money? In our country, there is essentially no currency. What we call currency is actually a means of settlement under quota distribution. The currency itself has long depreciated; it is incredibly cheap in the process of buying the means of production and, to an equal degree, consumer goods. This is why at present the currency is complemented by allocations and quotas. A couple of days ago, I had in my hands vouchers issued to workers at one of the enterprises of Moscow for purchasing footwear, knitted goods, and fabrics in the "Bucharest" store. These vouchers are also currency. However, if we want to create a regularly functioning economic mechanism, we need real money. This is the foremost condition. If the currency were convertible, if we had a market where everything necessary could be bought with this money, then the issue would appear differently. Perhaps, it would not have to be raised at all. I would like to stress that we regard the republic currency as a forced measure.

Secondly, we need our currency in order to protect the internal market of the republic....

[Correspondent] However, they find sinister the very desire to protect yourself....

[Otsason] After all, the Moscow market is also protected from visitors through the use of the aforementioned vouchers, food orders at enterprises, and on-site trade in goods in short supply! We should not accuse each other, but rather understand that this is our common problem, and we should find a correct decision jointly.

[Correspondent] We may add to this that the Baltic republics have surpassed all other regions of the country in the production of consumer goods per capita and per every ruble of the remuneration fund, and in the volume of paid services....

[Otsason] So we are forced to protect our internal market; otherwise, the republic government cannot be held fully responsible for supplying the populace with everything necessary. However, we want to do it in a more civilized way, by using our currency, so that the currency would be a factor, after all.

This is not a ban on shopping by a person visiting Estonia. He may purchase anything he wants, having exchanged his money into the republic currency. Certainly, the rate of exchange will be set by the republic, also in its capacity of a lever of economic management.

[Correspondent] What about the emission of currency?

[Otsason] Do we really want to appear duplicitous—tell the people that we are introducing economic accountability, and subsequently appropriate the same financial resources from the republic for the all-union revenues through the central bank of the union by means of the uncontrolled issuing of money? Therefore, the central bank of the republic has to regulate monetary circulation.

Finally, I agree with the opinion of a large group of economists: The current mechanism of regulating foreign economic activities in our country is absolutely unfit. I am not aware of a country where thousands of exchange rates would be in operation. One rate should exist, and this has long been proven by all knowledgeable economists. The republic currency will also serve that

purpose. We will try to "fill up" our republic currency as fast as possible so that it could be exchanged into Western currencies. This is a very complicated endeavor, taking some years and dependent on the balance of foreign trade.

Now let us respond to the point about the harm the Estonian currency can do to other republics. After all, the main thing which any union republic has to ensure is the fulfillment of all contracts for deliveries, participation in the integration processes, and contributions to the all-union budgets. Therefore, our currency may do as much harm as vouchers for the "Bucharest" store.

[Correspondent] However, it would, perhaps, be difficult to name a country where a dozen currencies are in circulation?

[Otsason] However, there is not a single federative state in the world the constituent parts of which are sovereign states according to the constitution. Our union is unique. As far as the world practice goes.... In Great Britain, four kinds of bills are in circulation at present: Scotland, the island of Jersey, Northern Ireland, and England proper have their own currencies. To be sure, the exchange rate of these currencies is the same.

[Correspondent] Here is one more critical opinion: You want to substitute a republic "vertical line" of management for the union one....

[Otsason] Nothing is further from the truth.... We interpret the independence of enterprises broadly. Their rights will be more extensive than at present, and even more so than the Law on State Enterprises provides for. Furthermore, we intend to abolish all branch ministries and offices in the republic, and set up a single Ministry of Economy based on the Gosplan.

[Correspondent] Many economists maintain that, under your model of republic economic accountability and a relative isolation of the economy of Estonia, serious structural changes will have to be made for which your own funds may not suffice.

[Otsason] Structural changes in the national economy are necessary. They should be under way continuously, given the availability of funds, as the necessary scientific-technical potential is accumulated.

However, in the entire union, and in the small Estonia in particular, all entities should be restructured depending on whether this produces some effect or not. If reconstruction guarantees profits, loans may be taken out, but at the risk of those receiving them. Even if the union departments and ministries require that some enterprise be retooled, but it is going to be advantageous for us, we may agree with the suggestion, having requested a loan.

[Correspondent] What is the attitude of the leadership of your republic to the aforementioned "General Principles" developed in the central echelon with your participation?

[Otsason] I would like to stress first of all that for Estonia our model has become law. However, as I see it, the "General Principles" are also a step forward. They give the republics an opportunity to get the experience of independent economic management. Unfortunately, the "General Principles" have some shortcomings; I would liken them to a jug which still has many holes through which financial resources can leak. A republic will not feel safeguarded and secure with this kind of economic accountability. Besides, every republic should decide on its own what suits it better. It is possible that all republics would opt for their own models. On the other hand, it is very good that such work has been done: The "General Principles" give us bearings; they do proclaim the principle of taking into account the peculiarities of regions, albeit in the most general form. As far as the reference to our participation in developing them is concerned, all variants of the "General Principles" are accompanied by the separate opinion of Estonia and, incidentally, Lithuania.

I believe that our concept goes further; it is closer to the provisions set forth in the report by M.S. Gorbachev to the Congress of People's Deputies. Since the population of Estonia is ready to take the risk, we should not be restricted.

Let us not be afraid of the economic independence of republics. If, according to Lenin, we trust them enough to give them the right to decide whether to stay or not to stay in the union, why do we not trust them to manage their own economy? This is how the economic interest in belonging to the union on the part of the republics is negated. Meanwhile, they are objectively interested in this, and we should put our faith in these objective interests. These very interests may reinforce our union rather than pressure emanating from the central echelon. After all, continuous bans may bring a small people to such a condition that it will give support to those who share extreme views. The question is who is going to profit by this?

[Correspondent] Some economists believe that a degree of isolation of the Baltic republics will interfere with solving ecological problems and the development of the defense industry.

[Otsason] We believe that the issue of the defense industry merits special consideration. Probably, it makes sense to switch to a system of contracts with the USSR Ministry of Defense. As far as the ecological problems are concerned, we will solve the local ones with our own resources, and large-scale ones by participating in national and international projects on the principles of parity with the central echelon and other union republics of the country. At any rate, such an approach rules out,

say, the 150-billion-ruble investments harming nature which were made by the Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources].

[Correspondent] How does the desire of Estonia to isolate itself to a degree relate to the general world trend toward integration? Let us take, for example, the Common Market....

[Otsason] I believe that it is premature for us to compare ourselves to the Common Market, or at any rate in the level of development of industrial production, technology, science, and agriculture. We should proceed from the fact that our union is at least 20 years behind them. In turn, 2 decades ago European countries were economically isolated, though they belonged to the Common Market. However, this isolation is "isolation" in quotation marks, because it includes economic development and economic responsibility. This is economic accountability in practice, with a powerful interest in the international division of labor and integration, the fruits of which are so apparent at present. This is why references to the Common Market prove that...we are right.

[Correspondent] They argue that the Baltic model of economic accountability may perceptibly weaken the national economic complex of the country....

[Otsason] This statement is groundless. National economic links cannot be eliminated altogether, because they are an objective necessity. This entirety of economic links amounts to the national economic complex. To be sure, at present it is in need of restructuring; we are not satisfied with its form imposed by the central departments in spite of the real interests of participants in production, and frequently of the requirements of efficiency. However, we need very much a national economic complex based on the real economically accountable interests of enterprises, regions, and republics, on the truly efficient national economic links. In pursuing its real interest, every republic will strive for a maximum of joint work, rational division of labor, cooperation, and integration, but on mutually advantageous conditions.

In turn, lamentations about the national economic complex allegedly falling apart are nothing but grief over the command posts in economic management which some of the central departments stand to lose. They say that the complex will fall apart if they do not get to give orders. However, what the central departments believe to be the complex is an economic monster based on the command system of management, which does not fit in under capitalism, and even less so under socialism.

We say that the national economic complex is the aggregate of efficiently operating economies of regions and republics, proceeding from their own interests, and at the same time operating in the genuine interest of the union as a whole.

Nikonov Visits Nakhodka Fishing Port 27 Jun

LD2706214589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report over video]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Nikonov is in the Maritime Kray. Today he visited the port town of Nakhodka.

[Correspondent L. Savitskiy, identified by screen caption] Nakhodka harbor signifies not only the largest transshipment complexes in the Far East. The region's most powerful base for the repair of the fishing fleet is situated here—the Primor-rem-rybflot Association. At the enterprise, which was built in the 1950's, equipment is almost not being renewed and the machine-tool pool is worn out, and this causes difficulties for the repair and modernization of ships. [video shows views of Nakhodka harbor and ships; interior of the association's works, people working on machinery; Nikonov and entourage visiting the works]

Workers talked to Viktor Petrovich Nikonov about the need to use at least 70 percent of the hard currency being earned by fishermen to restore the enterprise's main production funds, because, you see, the Far East's fishing industry is facing, in the 5-year plan period alone, the need to write off 410 ships which have worked out their normative terms of service life. The period of their use can only be extended here, in Nakhodka, but with the existing norms, deductions, and profits it is impossible to do this. [video shows workers speaking to Nikonov in the open air, with close-ups of the workers listening to Nikonov]

[Begin Nikonov recording] You have good experience, and especially on Kamchatka, of the transfer or taking in of fishing vessels on a leasing basis. But I think that a ship itself, taken on lease by a group of seamen or fishermen, does not yet constitute business. It is necessary that all onshore services which provide for it, together with a group of ships, should work as one leasing collective. Then one can change all of these rates and norms, and prepare in advance, let us say, the organization of ship repairs, everything as it should be—and not keep them for 3 years at a time—but release them after 3 months, and run a different turnover, that is, the organization of work needs to be changed, completely differently. This concerns everybody, comrades, literally. This applies both to agriculture and to industry, and the more so to such an industry as yours. What we often talk about—the renewed concept of the economy of socialism—refers precisely to these fundamentals. [end recording]

[Savitskiy] Viktor Petrovich Nikonov also visited the fields of the Vostok state farm, situated next to Nakhodka in the Partizanskaya Valley. The talk here was about perfection of the economic mechanism of management in the agro-industrial complex and the search for

ways to provide the inhabitants of the Far East with their own foodstuffs. [video shows farm fields, Nikonov and delegation meeting with farm workers]

Medvedev Addresses Propagandists' Seminar 28 Jun
LD2806223289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] A seminar for propaganda groups leaving for local party organizations to explain the material of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies took place at the CPSU Central Committee today. The seminar examined topical questions of the present stage of political reform, the development of the processes of democratization and glasnost, the country's social and economic development, the perfection of relations between nationalities, and the restructuring of the party's ideological activity. The participants in the seminar were addressed by Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Television's Effect on Public Opinion Viewed
AU2806132589 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 Jun p 6

[Leonid Parfenov article: "Television Camera Zooms In"]

[Excerpts] How is public mood reflected? Despite the fact that an all-union center of public opinion research was recently established in the Soviet Union (under the leadership of Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, the well-known sociologist), no reliable scientific data on public moods in this country are available to this date. We only have fragments, but no one dares to describe the whole picture, and even less to assess the dynamic nature of its dimensions. The most certain fact, however, which is quite evident even without analyzing it, is the public role played by Central Television. In a huge country such as ours—with a not very highly developed system of communications, an underdeveloped entertainment industry, and vast provinces—television not only reflects public opinion, but expresses and develops it.

I would even dare to say that present-day Soviet television is one of the most characteristic social phenomena in this country. [passage omitted]

Central Television programs and youth programs, in particular, also provide a direct "reflection" of public moods, and the current main subjects of discussion and dispute in our country can be judged on the basis of such programs. [passage omitted]

As to reflecting the cliches of mass behavior, it is interesting to observe the reaction of some television viewers in connection with the change in the tone of programs devoted to international policy subjects. Not all viewers by far have accepted the rejection of the "enemy image" that prevailed until recently in the comments of journalists dealing with international affairs in Central Television programs. Thus, following the first Soviet-American television bridge programs moderated by Phil Donahue and Vladimir Pozner, IZVESTIYA published a letter sent by a "group of television viewers" to the editorial board and to the KGB.... which read: "Pozner is being manipulated by the enemy." It was hardly the only letter of this kind. Believe it or not, the great indignation was caused by Pozner's public denunciation of the anti-Americanism manifested by part of the audience, which for many years had been considered a synonym of Soviet patriotism.

Academician Zaslavskaya stressed: Public opinion on numerous subjects is evidently distorted or non-existent, because certain subjects are "off limits" for normal discussion, and rumors are the only available source of information on them. Let us take the problem of international relations—on Central Television information on conflicts is strictly supplied in small doses. Discussions on such subjects are rare, and the persons directly involved in the events (members of unofficial national movements, in particular) are hardly ever given the opportunity of speaking on television, or radio.

The question of the "side effects" that television experts on the public is a different matter. The pompous festive meetings, public award ceremonies, and the numerous speeches that went on for several hours and were televized throughout the seventies when television became a real mass medium in our country could all be watched by millions of people. The period of stagnation, so to speak, materialized on television, and nothing contributed more to the decline of the authority of the "stagnation leaders" than television. The ceremonies of presenting the Order of Victory to Brezhnev and the deputy certificate to a very sick Chernenko (who barely managed to pronounce the words: "Everything is all right") were instances of the most painful national disgrace. Quite unconsciously, television in the past fully contributed to revealing the crisises in our society. The new (albeit unwilling) contribution of television must be viewed against the background of the present, beneficial awareness that "it is impossible to continue living in this manner."

Television today has not only learned to pronounce the word "pluralism," but has also invested this concept with a new meaning. [passage omitted]

Soviet television is evidently aware of the requirement for qualitative new changes. The bureaucratic monopolistic model of state television programs is increasingly in conflict with the present situation in our society. It is now an anachronism to have only one single opinion expressed in the mass media. It will only be possible to reach a system of pluralistic opinions on the air when we become aware that at least two television companies should exist in our country (precisely as is the case with the people's congress deputies).

Television itself should be diversified in order to reflect, express, and develop not a "monolithic unity," but a whole spectrum of public life.

Vilnius Polls Listeners on Foreign Radios

LD2706155889 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 25 Jun 89

[From the "Radio Vilnius Listeners' Club" program]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [First announcer] What do people in Lithuania think about foreign radio stations?

[Second announcer] It became very popular in Lithuania to carry out various polls and opinion researches. We, two members of the Lithuanian DX Club, were given the task by the English Department of Radio Vilnius to analyze how the people in Lithuania listen to foreign radio broadcasts. We made a minipoll; only 39 people have been questioned and only in the capital, Vilnius. We tried, however, to question as different people as possible: students, laborers, intellectuals, and pensioners. Of course, it is not possible to draw a general conclusion about the whole population of Lithuania from such a low poll, but a primary conception may be well formed.

Twenty percent of those questioned were in the age of 16 to 20, 65 percent in the age of 21 to 50, and 15 percent in the age from 51 to 70 years. Thirty-three percent were pupils and students; 18 percent workmen, 36 percent intellectuals, 8 percent pensioners, and 5 percent militiamen and the military.

The poll showed that there are many people in Lithuania who listen to foreign radio broadcasts; 34 percent of those polled said that they listened to them daily or almost daily, 50 percent listened two to three times a week or less frequently, while 16 percent stated taht they don't listen to foreign radio at all. Some of them don't have receivers; some don't have time to listen; some are not interested in the broadcasts. By the way, we don't count among those questioned an army reserve officer who responded to us this way: due to the cirucmstances which arise from my official position position I can't give you any information.

We were also quite suspiciously looked on by three young militiamen guarding the Lenin monument. They gave us a terse and clear answer that they were fully satisfied with the Soviet mass media and gently said goodbye. Well, which stations are most popular? First of all, we have to note that (?even) 16 percent responded they are not particular about what stations they listen to; they only must be foreign. The rest of the questioned appeared to listen to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty—74 percent, the Voice of America—70 percent, BBC—30 percent, Radio Luxembourg—11 percent, while Deutsche Welle, Radio Sweden, and Radio Vatican were named by 1 person each. By the way Radio Luxembourg is mostly listened to by pop and rock music fans, and BBC is popular among students of English who listen to its World Service, mostly.

Having started to deal with languages, we can (?assure) that the widest audience is gained by broadcasts in Lithuanian. They are listened to by almost everybody who speaks this language; only 9 percent stated that although they speak Lithuanian they tune into other language services. People often tune into broadcasts in Russian, too; about a half of those questioned mentioned them. By the way, we think that the popularity of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America is determined by the fact that these stations use Lithuanian. Such major international broadcasters as the BBC, Deutsche Welle, and Radio France International don't have Lithuanian programs and none of them (?are) among the most popular ones, despite the fact that they can be heard very well over here.

And the last question put by us was: Why do you listen to foreign radio broadcasts? Even [as heard] 78 percent responded that they are most eager to learn the Western point of view on the events in the world, and especially in Lithuania. Twice less responded that the information they get from the Lithuanian mass media is not enough and they wanted to get additional information by listening to foreign radio. A small part of the questioned is interested in music programs or, as we have mentioned, it already listens for language studying purposes. And the fact that greatly surprised us, almost nobody uses radio to learn about the lifestyle in other countries, about their customs and culture.

While polling the people, we didn't observe any relationship between their age and their attachment to the radio, but at least two people turned our attention to this: I can't say that I systematically don't listen, no, but I listen only when I get spare time, but my father he listens systematically and the older generation is really much more interested in this.

Usually, the people answered to our questions willingly, with (?wider) comments and motivation of their opinion. We were kind of surprised when a young man called us to leave, it turned out that he works for Radio Vilnius as well, for the Home Service. We wondered what the professionals thought about foreign radio information programs:

[Begin recording] [Anonymous interviewee, in Lithuanian, fading into superimposed English translation] The news are compiled on totally different principles and presented in a different way than ours. I like very much the manner they do it. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Economic

News Conference on Defense Industry Conversion

LD1007191589 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—Converting some of the defence enterprises deployed in Moscow city and Moscow region to the production of consumer goods must be

effected in the briefest possible time. This was said at a press conference in the Moscow City CPSU Committee today. Speakers at the press conference included officials from defence industry, party workers and representatives of the city council.

It was noted at the press conference that the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of General Machine-Building alone had prepared a package of proposals on 48 directions of defence production conversion. The USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry came up with a similar package. Already this year defence enterprises started producing 330 types of products for the national economy, which is 7 per cent of its total output. Next in line are 180 denominations of technological equipment for the light and food industries and medical equipment.

The journalists were especially interested to hear about the start of the utilisation of the technology and labour organisation developed in the work on the "Energia" "Buran" system, a unique space transport vehicle.

Agricultural

Rethinking on Grain Imports Urged

PM1007133389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by A. Sizov, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations: "Grain Imports Benefit the Departments But Not the People"]

[Text] Moscow—The growing dependence of our prosperity on purchases of foodstuffs, particularly grain, was noted with great alarm in reports and speeches at the Congress of People's Deputies. You may recall that since 1982, when the Food Program was adopted, these purchases have been explained to us as being made purely in the people's interests. We need the grain to produce livestock. As far as our daily bread is concerned, those needs, the State Committee for Statistics has assured and continues to assure us, are fully met through our own grain resources.

It turns out that it is not specific departments but all of us who are to blame for the country having become a chronic major food importer. If we ate bread and pasta, no foreign purchases would be necessary, but as we began consuming more meat, milk, and eggs, a need for imports immediately arose here.

But let us call things by their proper names. Regarding our own bread and pasta, this is, after all, an untruth. For example, from 1980 through 1987 31.8 billion foreign currency rubles were spent importing grain, of which 19.5 billion—61 percent—were spent on purchasing wheat, including flour. The country has annually imported 19.4 million tonnes of wheat—that is, one-fifth of all the wheat imported in the world. And today around 50 kilos of the 130-133 kilos of grain products manufactured per capita each year are made from imported grain. In other words, around one-third of the roll which you and I eat is of foreign origin. The situation regarding pasta products is even worse: Practically one in two packets of pasta (in some years even more) is made from foreign grain. And this pleasure costs us over 2 billion foreign currency rubles a year.

And yet the main thing here is not that the vagaries of the weather force such large-scale imports upon us. Even in dry, poor years we harvest 70-75 million tonnes of wheat and in ordinary years at least 80-85 million. In the United States, for example, annual average wheat output does not exceed 55-60 million tonnes, while in the EC countries, taken together, the figure is 70-75 million. However, they export while we import. It transpires that we, in pursuit of gross output, grow and procure wheat, the bulk of which is unsuitable for the preparation of high-quality foodstuffs. And the depression suffered by the country's grain complex is determined in many respects by precisely this long-standing import of grain.

"Soviet petrodollars" unleashed (from 1972 on) an unrestrained growth in grain purchases. In 1973 we already imported more than 24 million tonnes of it, including almost 16 million tonnes of wheat, although the country harvested a record grain crop that year. The bureaucratic apparatus quickly grasped that importing grain gave it a cushy life: For some it opened up a "window" onto Europe and America; it allowed others to shelter behind gross output and not bother themselves about producing quality food grain; others obtained the opportunity to fulfill and overfulfill plan targets with ease by reprocessing imported grain. It is a fact, after all, that the Ministry of Grain Products annually produces so much flour each year that we are unable to organize the consumption of it in such quantity. Why does this happen? "The production of flour," A. Budyka, USSR minister of grain products, complains, "is determined for us by the State Planning Committee and its distribution by the Ministry of Trade."

In short, extensive grain imports have enabled the State Planning Committee to plan foreign purchases without examining overmuch the unstable situation obtaining in its own fields, the State Agro-Industrial Committee to supply the state with mediocre produce which it passes off for good, the Ministry of Grain Products to ignore this, since "foreign countries will help" nevertheless, and "Eksportkhleb" ["Grain Export"] to become "Importkhleb," ["Grain Import"] purchasing grain here, there, and everywhere in accordance with targets set from on high.

All the links in this departmental chain are so well bonded together that it is futile to look for its beginning and end, since foreign purchases have been for so long established on a planned and consequently stable basis through long-term agreements. Initially with the United States, then with Canada, Argentina, Turkey... In practice we assumed certain commitments to import grain

(15-20 million tonnes annually in the eighties) irrespective of the state of affairs in either the country's grain market or its economy. Good harvest or bad, it made no difference to our farsighted functionaries—purchases are and will be carried out in line with intergovernmental agreements.

It is not my aim to analyze the consequences of the partial U.S. government embargo on grain supplies to the USSR in 1980. It is more important to follow the trends and their consequences. It was these massive imports which created the conditions for the stagnation and decline of production of our own quality wheat. While in the second half of the sixties 41 million tonnes of wheat were procured, in the seventies the figure was 36 million tonnes, and in the eighties it came to only 24 million tonnes. The situation regarding durum wheat is even worse: In 1966-1970 3 million tonnes were procured, in the seventies 2 million, and in the eighties 1.1 million. Moreover, quality declined: In recent years only just over half the durum wheat procured has been classified as top-grade.

A dangerously vicious cicle has arisen which is perpetuated by new imports. Drastically reduce grain imports at a stroke and you will undermine the supply to the population. We have all unsuspectingly become hostages of our departments which organize the import and processing of grain and become virtually dependent upon them as providers. At our expense; growing expense, of course.

At the same time our strong and even our durum wheat remains on the farms and is fed to livestock. We are not talking about some mere trifle but about 13-16 million tonnes of highly valuable strong wheat and 1.3-1.5 million tonnes of durum wheat, that is to say, a quantity virtually equivalent to the amount of food grain imported.

Of course, our collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes] know full well that feeding valuable food wheat to livestock is wasteful. But they have to live in a departmental domain of distorting mirrors where the abnormal appears perfectly normal. Is it really normal, after you have sold food grain to the Ministry of Grain Products, to then buy mixed feed from it at 2-2.5 times the price? You will probably not find such a paradox anywhere else in the world. In the United States, for example, in recent years the average price of concentrated feeds has been roughly one-third less than food wheat. Food grain is universally more expensive than feed grain. Save in our country, where our pricing policy is such that it is more profitable to cultivate wheat of low food value in some places in the greater Moscow region than in areas which yield high-quality grain. Most countries (the EC being the most notable example) seek to create and maintain their agriculture's competitiveness by shielding their farmers through higher domestic purchase prices. In our country, however, it's the reverse.

The USSR's position as a grain purchaser was partially alleviated by the fall in world prices that occurred prior to the middle of last year. The sharply increased rivalry among grain exporters during that period forced our trading partners to offer substantial discounts, which have amounted in the last 2 years, for example to 25-30 percent of the export price. It even reached the point where the French minister of agriculture accused the United States of helping the Russians... strengthen their nuclear potential (!). People will say anything when a more powerful competitor starts to edge them out of an attractive market. After all, even the EC countries granted us export subsidies, and in the sale not just of grain but of meat and dairy products.

All that is now a thing of the past. The drought in the United States and Canada led to a change in market conditions. Prices for grain, particularly wheat, have climbed steadily. A year ago a tonne of wheat cost $120-130; today it stands at around $180. This is ordinary breadbaking grain. Canadian top-grade durum wheat, however, is 30-40 percent more expensive. On the other hand, an accord on freezing subsidies on the export of agricultural produce and gradually scaling them down was reached during international talks designed to develop world trade within GATT. Therefore, while subsidies are being given for the time being, albeit not on the previous scale, it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain them.

The prospects are undeniably bleak. But to pin all the blame for this outcome on our foreign trade establishments, as some commentators do, is a naive and dangerous error. Such a development of events was "programmed" back in the first half of the seventies, when the import of grain was transformed from being sporadic (as it was in the mid-sixties) to departmentally planned. And what is clearest of all is the fact that the state of affairs in our grain economy will not be quickly rectified until we put an end to the freeloading and monopoly of our departments generated by the import of grain.

Today, when the bases of departmental diktat are beinning to be eroded in the course of economic reform, it is clearly worth considering whether there is any need at all for the Ministry of Grain Products, which has concentrated in its hands the procurement and processing of grain, including imported grain, and the production and sale of mixed feeds. Such a monopoly has every opportunity to manipulate the quality indicators of grain procured and mixed feed sold purely in its own interests. And that indeed does happen. How else can you explain the fact that, despite glasnost, we have no clue how much grain is lost or the reasons for it, how much food and feed wheat is produced, how much grain and what kind of crops go for livestock feed, or how much flour is produced and consumed. Perhaps this is all a state secret? Rather, departmental secrets allow the apparatus to avoid answering unpleasant questions.

The new economic mechanism is now increasingly directing the policy of economic relations away from food requisitioning and grain delivery toward buying and selling. Procurement workers will now be working on the basis of mutually beneficial contracts with kolkhoz [collective] members, sovkhoz [state farm] workers, and leaseholders and will provide incentives for their partners by supplying them with resources in short supply. However, the right of internal procurements should scarcely be the prerogative of state procurement services alone. It would be a good thing to give processing enterprises and our foreign trade organizations the opportunity to enter into direct relations with grain producers, too.

A proposal that grain produced by kolkhozes and sovkhozes be paid for in foreign currency has already been voiced in the press. (Although why just grain? After all, we import vegetable oil, raw sugar, and much else that we can produce ourselves). Yes, there are arguments in favor of this. On the one hand, it would save resources on importing food (the cost of transporting 1 tonne of grain from the United States comes to $25 on its own), while, on the other, it would increase incentives to farms to boost the production of quality output.

I would like to see our foreign trade organizations fundamentally different—not blinkered departments but multicommodity export-import companies possessing warehouses, storage elevators, and enterprises for the initial processing of grain both within the country and abroad. In short, we need powerful autonomous trade and production enterprises, freed from rigid departmental constraints.

These problems cannot all be solved at once. But it is essential to press on for their solution with full determination, because the bread imported from overseas has already turned into a stale rusk for our entire economy.

Scientific

Bloc Scientists Monitor Soviet Reservoir

PM1107103989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by own unnamed TASS correspondent: "Space Portrait of Reservoir"]

[Text] As your TASS correspondent was informed at the Intercosmos Council, an international aerospace experiment called "Internal Reservoirs—Intercosmos-89" was carried out in the Soviet Union over the Rybinskiy Reservoir 15-30 June. Specialists from Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia took part.

The aim of the experiment is to develop methods of monitoring the state of internal reservoirs and drainage systems from space. Measurements were taken over the Rybinskiy Reservoir at three levels: from the national economic satellites "Resurs-F" and "Cosmos-1939," from aircraft and helicopters, and from USSR Academy of Sciences scientific research vessels.

The information obtained is being processed by scientists and will be used to advance CEMA countries' economic interests.

Military

Pacific Fleet Begins 'Tactical' Exercise

LD1107091689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0846 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Vladivostok, 11 Jul (TASS)—Forces of the Pacific Ocean Fleet have begun a tactical exercise in the northwestern section of the Sea of Japan. In its orientation it is fully in line with the USSR's new defensive doctrine. Twenty ships are involved in the exercise, including 3 nuclear submarines, 37 fleet aircraft and helicopters, 9 auxiliary vessels, and approximately 10,000 personnel. Fleet Commander Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov is in charge.

For the first time at a Pacific Ocean Fleet exercise, representatives from the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, India, Indonesia, and Malaysia are present in the capacity of military observers. The progress of the exercise is being covered by Soviet journalists accredited to the fleet's staff, as well as foreign journalists from Australia, the UK, the PRC, the United States, Thailand, the CSSR, and Japan.

Moiseyev Addresses Apparatus Workers

PM1007142289 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Unnamed "our correspondent" report: "Businesslike Mood"]

[Text] The party aktiv and communists of the Defense Ministry central apparatus had a meeting with Army General M. Moiseyev, USSR people's deputy from the CPSU. The deputy spoke about the work of the first Congress of People's Deputies and stressed that it was a major event in our country's political history. The congress marks an important stage in the transfer of full state power into the hands of the soviets of people's deputies, and demonstrates the enormous potential of representative organs in running the country and resolving the socioeconomic, political, and spiritual problems that face society.

The congress defined the main avenues of the country's domestic and foreign policy and deepened our knowledge of the progress of restructuring. The frank nature of the debate that took place made it possible to see more clearly both the achievements and the mistakes and errors made in the course of restructuring itself.

Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, dwelt in detail on questions of military building that were raised in deputies' speeches and reflected in the Congress directives.

The Congress resolution notes that it is one of the most important functions of our state to ensure the reliable defense of the country. The congress came out in favor of the further qualitative development of the Soviet Army in accordance with the existing principles of its formation.

In the light of the congress results, Army General M. Moiseyev analyzed progress in fulfilling the practical tasks facing generals and officers in the central apparatus. He stressed that these tasks are defined by the party's directives on ensuring the effectiveness of military building primarily in qualitative terms and through the implementation of the defensive military doctrine. In this connection higher demands are made on the style of the activity of party organizations and every communist. A high sense of responsibility, practicality, creativity, a businesslike approach, and orientation toward the quest for new, original approaches should be characteristic features of their style.

The main thing today, Army General M. Moiseyev stressed, is orientation toward action and daily, persistent, efficient work by everyone in his sector.

The people's deputy spoke about the implementation of instructions given to him at preelection meetings, and answered questions.

Varennikov Cited on Draft Military Regulations

PM1007183089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report on interview with V.I. Varennikov, Ground Forces commander in chief and USSR deputy defense minister, by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Openness and Glasnost: The Impending Discussion of Draft Military Regulations"—date, place of interview not stated]

[Text] At a recent collegium of the USSR Defense Ministry a decision was made to publish the draft Internal Service Regulations, Disciplinary Regulations, and Garrison and Guard Services Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces with a view to wide discussion of them. In this connection Army General V.I. Varennikov, chairman of the commission for preparing the draft military regulations, commander in chief of the Ground Forces, and USSR deputy defense minister, told a TASS correspondent:

[Varennikov] Let us start with this question: What has given rise to the rewriting [pererabotka] of the regulations, which are the basic normative and legal documents determining the way of life of Army and Navy personnel?

This is the short answer to the question: The necessity to bring all their demands fully into line with the changes that have recently taken place in the political structure and sociopolitical life of our society. The Armed Forces, as was stressed once again at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies, are part of the people, they are their creation. And naturally, the processes of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost are becoming more intensified there, as they are in the country as a whole. This should be reflected in the regulations. At the same time, the very fact of a discussion of the draft regulations is also a link in the chain of measures being implemented in connection with restructuring and democratization in the Army and Navy.

The impending wide discussion of the draft regulations was preceded by extensive preparatory work. They were drawn up and circulated among the troops 3 years ago. Around 8,000 proposals were put to the commission, which were taken into account in the versions destined for publication.

In the draft Regulations of the Internal Service, the general rights and duties of servicemen are clarified, with a view to strengthening the legal protection of personnel. It is envisaged, in particular, that the organs of state power, leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and commanders of military units, ensure that the rights and advantages stipulated in legislation for servicemen and their families are implemented.

The inclusion in the regulations of the demands persistently to combat violations of the socialist rule of law, to respect national dignity, and not to permit arrogance, vulgarity, mockery, or jeering with regard to oneself or one's comrades, also serve the interests of protecting servicemen's rights and dignity. In the event of violation of the rules for mutual relations stipulated in the regulations, a serviceman has a duty to take urgent measures to restore order and immediately report to his commanding officer. We hope that this provision will assist the struggle against such disgraceful phenomena as nonregulation relations.

Significant changes are outlined for the sections devoted to the duties of commanding officers and chiefs. They essentially involve increasing responsibility for the training and education of subordinates. The commanding officer must combine exactingness with closeness to people, an ability to work with them in conditions of developing democratization and glasnost, and concern for fully satisfying their material and spiritual needs. In all his activity, he relies on the support of party and All-Union Communist Youth League organizations and elected social organs. One of the most important duties of all commanding officers is to establish close ties with party and soviet organs and enterprise collectives.

It is well known that military collectives are multinational. In a company, for example, there are often representatives of 10 or more different nationalities.

That is why a new duty has appeared on the commanding officer's list—to rigorously follow the principles of Leninist nationalities policy in the leadership of a multinational collective and to show particular concern for strengthening friendship and fraternity between servicemen of different nationalities. The draft includes a number of new provisions designed to improve the life of servicemen, ensure that they receive the specified allowances, and improve their health.

A new chapter, "Combat Duty," appears, in which the principles of its organization are set out in brief.

In the draft Disciplinary Regulations, the basic provisions defining the nature of military discipline and ways to strengthen it have undergone significant amendments. The duties of commanding officers at all levels include the demands for close relations with subordinates, sensitivity to their needs and requests, and the need for public support. Incentives and also penalties imposed on servicemen have been revised.

In the draft Regulations on Garrison and Guard Services, the duties of officials are clarified with a view to strengthening military discipline and order and improving the protection and defense of military and state facilities.

The draft regulations will be published in a supplement to the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in mid-July. The plan is to discuss them over 2-3 months at meetings of officers and all personnel in units, ships, and military training institutions, and also in the newspaper columns. The commission will summarize all the proposals and then the drafts will again be examined at the USSR Defense Ministry Collegium, after which they will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for approval.

We are counting on the participation of Army and Navy veterans, servicemen of the reserve, and other strata of the Soviet public in the discussions. We hope that the publication of the draft regulations will help young people approaching draft age and draftees to become more deeply aware of their military duty and responsibility for the reliable defense of the Fatherland and the gains of socialism.

Army, Navy Political Directorate Discusses Training
PM1107093089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate: Improving Political Training," delivered by Lt General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate]

[Text] The Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Bureau discussed the question of the restructuring of political training in the Army and Navy. A report was delivered by Lt General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

It was noted that persistent work is in progress in the troops and fleets to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Restructuring of the System of Political and Economic Education of Working People." This has made it possible to improve the content and methodology of political training of personnel taking into account the students' interests and the tasks they are resolving, and to bring in more active forms of instruction. An innovative and creative approach and enhanced effectiveness in political training are characteristic of many formations and military units (or ships) in the Belorussian, Leningrad, Moscow, and Turkestan Military Districts, the Western Group of Forces, and the Baltic Fleet.

At the same time, in a number of military districts, groups of forces, and fleets the organization of political training lags behind today's needs. In Marxist-Leninist training with officer personnel, the principle of the differentiated approach is not always implemented and elements of formalism are being eradicated only slowly. The quality of training and instruction with warrant officers, petty officers, and servicemen in compulsory service is declining. Political studies have little influence on the strengthening of discipline and the cultivation of high moral qualities in servicemen. Instances of soldiers and sergeants being isolated from political training have not been eradicated. Many political organs and command and political cadres lack persistence in improving the material base of political training. In the troops and fleets, leading experience in political training is only poorly summarized and put into practice.

The Main Political Directorate Bureau instructed the political directorates of branches of the Armed Forces, military districts, groups of forces, and fleets and the political sections of formations, staffs, directorates, task forces, military educational establishments, and units, on the basis of the 19th All-Union Party Conference directive on strengthening qualitative parameters in all spheres of Armed Forces training, to analyze the state of political training and outline and implement practical measures to increase its effectiveness and influence on the resolution of the tasks of combat training and the strengthening of military discipline. It was stressed that particular attention should be focused on the problems of the Leninist concept of socialism, the CPSU's activity as vanguard of the Soviet people in the struggle for restructuring, the place and role of the Armed Forces in the system of the socialist state, the resolute stepping up of work on the international education of personnel, and the improvement of the combat training activity of troops and naval forces. For the summer training period of the current year, it is recommended that in all forms of political training provision be made for an in-depth study of the main reports and M.S. Gorbachev's concluding speech at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

It was noted at the session that in troops and fleets carrying out combat duty and combat service it is necessary to establish the practice of holding one 3-hour

study session per week and make up separate political study groups of servicemen with a poor knowledge of Russian. The political directorates of branches of the Armed Forces are granted the right, by agreement with the Main Political Directorate, to amend up to 30 percent of the study plan topics to take into account the particular features of service and the tasks being carried out by the troops and fleets, and also to change the order in which topics covering questions of military, moral, and legal education are studied.

Political organs at all levels must persistently introduce leading methodology into the training process and diversify studies, making wide use of discussion groups, "roundtables," debates, business games, disputations, political contests, and so forth. Leading experience in instruction should be summarized and developed, and more attention devoted to individual work. A system of continuous training and retraining of leaders of political training groups in all categories should be set up. In order to improve their theoretical and methodological standards, wider use should be made of the base available at universities of Marxism-Leninism and party aktiv schools. The commitment of group leaders and their assistants to high end results should be increased. To this end fuller use should be made of the established system of incentives, and the contribution of nonstaff propagandists to political training should be reflected in their certification. All leading command and political cadres should be involved firmly in instruction on topical problems.

The V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy is instructed to draw up methodological recommendations for the study of Lenin's works and to carry out "Political Training-92" scientific research work. The M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army is to set up a methodological council for the study, generalization, and dissemination of leading experience in the work of cultural enlightenment institutions in the Army and Navy to further political training.

Great attention was devoted to improving the scientific and organizational standard of leadership of political training in the troops and fleets. The Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Ideological Work Directorate was instructed to unite and coordinate the activity of the theory and methodology of political training section of the Center for the Study of Social and Psychological Problems, the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy, and faculties of social sciences at higher military educational establishments. Political directorates of branches of the Armed Forces should step up the responsibility of primary political organs and party organizations for the effectiveness and quality of instruction. Additional measures should be implemented to improve the personal example of Communists in political training.

The Ideological Work Directorate, in conjunction with the Technical Means of Propaganda Section of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, is instructed to formulate a long-term plan for improving the material base of political training in the troops and fleets. Proposals are to be put forward on clarifying the norms for the supply of technical means of propaganda to subunits, units, and ships. Political organs at all levels are to make fuller use of the potential of television centers, radio networks, and reference and information methodological offices in the interests of improving political training.

The USSR Defense Ministry Military Publishing House is instructed to make provision, from 1990, for the preparation and publication of brochures of the works of V.I. Lenin that are recommended for study, textbooks, methodological works, and visual aids to promote the political training of servicemen.

Experts Check Radiation Around Sunken Submarine

LD0507135889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2235 GMT 4 Jul 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast; report by correspondents S. Chekalin and V. Belousov—identified by caption, including interviews with A.M. Sagalevich, head of the expedition, doctor of technical sciences, and I.Ye. Mikhaltsev, professor and scientific leader of the expedition; date and place not given]

[Text] As has already been reported in the press, the science and research vessel Akademik Mstislav Keldysh has completed work on the spot where the Komsomolets atomic submarine perished.

Equipped with unique equipment and two state-of-the-art deep-sea diving manned submersibles of the Mir type, this vessel, which belongs to the Oceanology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has been given an important government task while on a routine expedition. These video clips were taken on the day of arrival on the spot where the submarine perished. [video shows diving equipment, long view of vessel in port, wreaths about to be lowered onto the surface of the water].

These people—prominent aquanauts and scientists—have repeatedly been lowered down and to study the sunken atomic submarine. [video shows still photo of group of men in diving suits; men propping up what looks like a submersible, handwritten caption "Norewegian Sea, depth 1,685 meters May 1989"]

[Addressing one of the team] I know that you and you, too, succeeded in getting down there on board the Mirs. What have you seen; how is it lying?

[A.M. Sagalevich, head of the expedition, doctor of technical sciences—identified by caption] The submarine is lying in one piece; it is lying on an even keel and it is in an altogether completely fine state. We have, I mean, carried out an examination of it, we have made

certain measurements, I mean around it, in particular of radioactivity and general oceanological data and everything generally is on the level of background radiation.

[Correspondent] This is the main question; a question to which the reply is being awaited by all television viewers of both the Soviet Union and abroad. What is the radiation situation like and what are the prospects?

[I. Ye. Mikhaltsev, professor, scientific leader of the expedition—identified by caption] The radiation situation is very good since all the measurements in direct proximity of the submarine yielded only the level of background radiation which we could compare with the data that we had received in advance, away from the submarine and prior to our arrival in the area. [video shows a group of three men: Mikhaltsev to left of screen, Sagalevich in the middle and to his left an unidentifed man in uniform]

[Correspondent] The expedition's research materials, the unique photographs, and the video films have been handed over to the specialists from the Navy, who are to draw conclusions, pertaining, among other things, also to the possibility—and it is, in principle, possible—of raising the submarine to the surface. [video shows people getting on board ship; "Mir" submersible on hoist, static, and another on board ship]